

EAST AND WEST IN THE CRUSADER STATES

CONTEXT — CONTACTS — CONFRONTATIONS

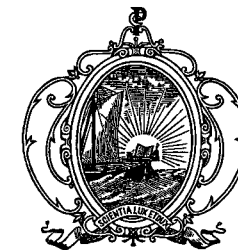
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Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in September 2000

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KRIJNIE CIGGAAR
and HERMAN TEULE

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Usāma ibn Munqid

Memoirs of an Arab-Syrian gentleman or an Arab knight in the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn Munqidh, engl. Übers. Ph. K. Hitti (New York, 1929).A BYZANTINE TRAVELLER TO ONE
OF THE CRUSADER STATES

W.J. AERTS*

INTRODUCTION

In 1904, the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* published a long and interesting poem of Konstantinos Manasses edited by Konstantin Horna.¹ It is the description of a journey made by Manasses as a member of a Byzantine delegation led by Johannes Kontostephanos, a cousin of the Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180), who, after the death of his first wife Irene (= Bertha of Sulzbach, d. 1160), hoped to find a second wife from within one of the crusader communities which had been established in the Near East. It is well-known that Manuel Komnenos was one of the few Byzantine rulers who pursued a pro-western policy. His first marriage to Bertha of Sulzbach, sister-in-law of Conrad III, was part of a policy of maintaining good relations with Germany in order to defy the threats of the Normans of Sicily.² However, the Second Crusade, which again passed through Byzantine territory, frustrated the effects of this policy. By recruiting a new bride from one of the crusader states, Manuel hoped to strengthen his influence in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Kingdom would then be able to take advantage of the protection of a military power closer in distance to them than were the western countries in order to defend themselves against the Muslims. In general the West was already experiencing great difficulty in sending supplies and warriors to the Near East. It seems that the advisers of the Byzantine court had two names in mind of young women who were being considered for the role of new empress, namely Melisende,³ sister of Raymond III, Count of

* For the abbreviations used in the footnotes see the end of this article.

¹ Horna, pp. 313-55.

² See *inter alia* G. Ostrogorsky and J. Hussey, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 381 ff.; A.A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison and Milwaukee, 1964), II, pp. 417 ff.

³ Johannes Kinnamos, *Epitome (Historiae)*, ed. A. Meineke, CSHB (Bonn, 1836), p. 208, 17ff., speaks highly of the beauty of this girl, but suggests that an unexpected illness eliminated her for marriage to Manuel. Neither Manasses nor William of Tyre know anything about this. Kinnamos seems to have invented this argument for smoothing away the wavering diplomacy of the Byzantine delegation(s). Cf. also Horna, p. 317. Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten (Berlin and New York, 1975), 117, 53 ff., does not mention the delegation to Tripoli and only refers to the marriage to Maria of Antioch.

Tripoli, and Maria, daughter of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance, the former rulers of Antioch. The choice eventually fell on the latter.⁴

The text of the poem of Manasses, titled *Hodoiporikon* (Guidebook), has come down to us in two manuscripts: Marcianus 524 (M), comprising about 300 verses from the beginning, and Vaticanus graecus 1881 (V) (from the Allatius collection), which offers the full text of about 800 verses. The quality of transmission in M is much better than in V, where some passages are missing. In V the text is divided into four books, comprising 336, 158, 106 and 194 verses respectively. It is assumed that the original text had been longer and/or more complete, and that it had been revised by Manasses himself after the negative outcome of his own delegation and the success of another delegation which had been sent to Antioch.⁵

Konstantinos Manasses is a well-known twelfth-century author. He was born in Constantinople in ca. 1130 and he ended his career as Metropolitan of Naupaktos, the town in which he died in 1187. His best-known work is his *Σύνοψις ἱστορική* (An Outline of History), a kind of world history up to 1181, in 6.733 political verses, a popular Byzantine verse type consisting of eight+seven syllables, with word accents required on the sixth and/or eighth and on the fourteenth syllable. We also recognize his hand in a romance about the *Love of Aristandros and Kallithea*, a romance modelled on classical romances such as *Leukippe and Kleitipho* of Achilles Tatios and the *Aethiopics* (*Theagenes and Charikleia*) of Heliodoros. Unfortunately, only a series of fragments of this romance, mostly moralistic in content, have survived. Many manuscripts contain minor works such as letters and speeches. With the exception of his *Hodoiporikon*, which is composed in twelve-syllable iambic trimeters, his poetical works are all written in political verses. One can only speculate about the reason why, but after having surveyed the contents there is a reasonable supposition to be made.

The contents of the *Hodoiporikon* as we have it now are as follows: Manasses, characterising himself as an armchair scholar, falls asleep whilst reading the *Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus of Naucratis (third century A.D.) and has a dream: he will go on board ship with the cousin of the Emperor on an expedition to the Holy Land. When awake he wavers between the thoughts that "dreams are lies" and "it could be a prediction".

The dream was, of course, a prediction. It was impossible to refuse to participate in the expedition. Manasses then explains the route which would be overland via Nicaea, Iconium and Cilicia to Antioch, by ship to Sidon, Tyre, Beirut and Ptolemaïs (= Acre; Manasses' order of place-

⁴ Portraits of Manuel and Maria in I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), pls 155-7; cf. text pp. 208-10.

⁵ So Horna, p. 319. For the description of the MSS and the relation between M and V, see Horna's introduction, pp. 313-5 and 318-9.

names is respected here!) — cursed by Manasses because of its unhealthy climate —, and then to Samaria (= Sichem), apparently Melisende's current place of residence. Only here was the secret aim of the expedition made clear to the common members of the delegation. Manasses then suggests that he saw the girl, probably in a little church or chapel, and he describes her extraordinary beauty (see below for comment). It seems that a sort of draft contract was formulated, because the expedition then prepared to leave Samaria for the return journey — as Manasses had hoped — but then it is hampered by bad weather. Perhaps the delegation changed plans, for Manasses now tells that he departed from Neapolis — another name for Samaria (= Nablus) — after some time in order to visit the Holy Places in and around Jerusalem. He sees the Holy Sepulchre, Golgotha, Sion, the place of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, Gethsemane, Bethlehem, Jericho, Nazareth, etc. Manasses cannot imagine why Christ chose to live in Nazareth with its unbearable heat, its dryness, its lack of water — water which can only be bought at a high price and is full of mud at that —, and its rocky sun-baked landscape. The first book ends with a sigh of home-sickness.⁶

The second book starts with the first stage of the journey back. However, in Tyre, also cursed for its lack of water, Manasses succumbed to a severe illness.⁷ From his description of the disease (high fevers, unquenchable thirst, colic and diarrhoea) we may conclude that it was typhus. Of course, the disease is interpreted as being a punishment for his sins, apparently fornication! The situation became so life-threatening that the leader of the delegation sent him to Cyprus. After a second crisis he eventually recovered, but his home-sickness grew. He does not make clear where he stayed on Cyprus but it was somewhere where his intellectual wants were not met. From the fact that Manasses praises the generosity of Alexios Doukas, the then governor of Cyprus, several times, we gather that his material circumstances were nothing to complain about and we may assume that Manasses was considered to be an important man to the Byzantine community.

This does not alter the fact that (in the third book) he is attacked by yet another disease, this time clearly caused by sexual activity. He describes his illness as suffering from violent pain and paresis of his

⁶ In his short survey of Manasses' poem, P. Schreiner also stresses the repeated motif of nostalgia. See P. Schreiner, "Viaggiatori a Bisanzio: Il diplomatico, il monaco, il mercante", in *Columbeis V* (Università di Genova, Facoltà di Lettere, 1993), pp. 29-39; on Manasses see pp. 34-5.

⁷ As has been said in note 3, Kinnamos mentions the unexpected illness of Melisende as a reason for the marriage to be cancelled. But it is striking how much his account agrees with what is told by Manasses of what was happening to himself. He even mentions the detail that after a temporary recovery, Melisende fell ill again. Consultation of an oracle which provides Kontostephanos with the answer "the wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy" (!) Matth. 22:8, would have brought the affair to an end.

legs. The "servants of Asclepius" are powerless. Nevertheless Manasses recovers after a therapy of hot baths, but he becomes very emaciated. The third poem again ends with an evocation of the City of Constantine.

The fourth poem begins with a cry of joy because the author sees Constantinople. But could this be a *fata-morgana*? Is he really there, and not on Cyprus, in Paphos, Kition, or Trimythous (now Limassol)? For the first time we now hear about place-names on Cyprus, which may imply that he indeed visited these places on the south coast during his stay in the island. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Manasses mentions the names of the well-known Cyprian cities here only to parade his knowledge. In any case, the dream motif is repeated here, but this time with a fortunate result: what he now sees is indeed Constantinople! This reassuring observation gives him the strength to continue his story with the description of the journey back. A number of obscurities emerge: it is suggested that they travel through Isauria, between Cilicia and the Taurus mountains where they pass the river Drakon (Serpent). The mentioning of this river is somewhat remarkable, the more so because other historians such as Procopius and Anna Comnene locate this river in Bithynia, with the same reference to its tortuous flow. Then they cross from the town Syce in Cilicia (Manasses does not wish to say a good word about this town) to Cyprus, where much commotion has arisen as a consequence of a military attack by the Count of Tripoli,⁸ furious about the fact that the Byzantine Emperor has chosen Maria of Antioch to be his wife instead of his sister Melisende. This situation is dismissed by Manasses with the well-known Byzantine haughtiness: "how will a wingless, plucked sparrow approach the eyrie of an eaglet?", or "how will a small hind frighten a furiously roaring big lion?" It seems, however, that this situation had caused a problem for the leader of the delegation, who had much trouble in escaping from the hands of the Tripolitans. He manages to arrive on Cyprus with the effect that Manasses' illness disappears as if by magic. At last they can set out on the journey back. In the relief of this moment Manasses remembers an incident which happened to him during his stay on Cyprus: On Whit-sunday he goes to church. While standing there a Cypriot peasant comes in with the putrefying stench of alcohol and garlic on his breath. First, Manasses asks the man politely to move on but the peasant does not react. Manasses asks for a second time, this time more loudly. The man remains unmoved. This makes Manasses so angry that he balls his fist and strikes the man's cheek with all his force. "This moment finally the

⁸ This attack and the attacks that followed were so serious that, in 1169, the Cypriots were unable to fulfil their obligations to King Amalric to send sufficient supplies in the context of his anti-Arabic actions: see Costas P. Kyrris, *History of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1985), p. 210.

dung-eater pissed off", to use Manasses' own words. This remarkable incident could in all probability be explained by the peasant being deaf or not understanding the refined Constantinopolitan language of Manasses and not having a high opinion of this man from the capital! Manasses, however, continues his complaints about Cyprus: the person trapped there has little chance of escaping, it is a fortress and comparable with Hades! Besides, the one who leaves the island runs the risk of being captured by pirates, who, in their behaviour, are even worse than the devils in hell!

But be that as it may: Manasses safely returned to his beloved Constantinople with the help of Christ, who may also have helped him to escape from all the other dangers of life.

So much for the narrative contents of the poem. In the first place I would say that it is clearly an egocentric document. The greatest part deals with the author's sufferings on Cyprus. In contrast to another work, the famous Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, who recorded the acts of the first Lusignan rulers on Cyprus and speaks of the sweet land of Cyprus, the ordeal of Manasses is very unfavourable to the island. More interesting is his description of the route to and from the Holy Land making clear that the greatest part of the journey was made on land, apparently because the sea route was too dangerous due to pirates. The poem also offers a glimpse of Byzantine diplomacy. The expedition, which took place in 1160-1161, was sent to Palestine with a special goal, but it was obviously only the leader of the delegation who was aware of that goal; the other members of the delegation heard about the mandate only on their arrival in Palestine and, even then, only after they had complained to the leader, demanding to be informed about the mission's details. Manasses' description of a number of places he visited⁹ and of the climate of these places is also very interesting. His apparent home-sickness was clearly at the root of his generally unfavourable impression of the Holy Land. His compassion and admiration for Christ, who chose this land to bring about the redemption of mankind, is rather comical. It is a pity that we hear nothing about the negotiations, where they were held, or who were the negotiators, nor whether there was any result and on what terms. Other sources provide us with the information that the negotiations first took place in Tripoli and later with King Baldwin in Jerusalem, who himself was in favour of a marriage to Melisende as he feared the dominant position in the region of the Byzantines in the event of Manuel's marriage to a countess from Antioch. Manasses' poem says nothing about another

⁹ The description of Manasses has nothing to do with descriptions such as those that have been gathered in J. Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum, 1994).

parallel delegation to Antioch. From other sources we know that that delegation stood under the leadership of Basileios Kamateros.¹⁰ It seems probable that the delegations were sent out independently with the Emperor's intention of making a definite choice after checking the possibilities. The remark about the furious attack of the Count of Tripoli on Cyprus makes clear that the arrangements of the Kontostephanos delegation with Baldwin and the Count of Tripoli about the wedding with Melisende were already far advanced before being cancelled.

Unfortunately, Manasses' fourth poem 36-43 is very obscure. One may suppose that these verses are the residue of a passage which was originally more detailed. Horna assumes that Manasses, having been cured by means of the warm baths, joined the returning delegation, which for some reason returned from Isauria to Cyprus. He is puzzled by the fact that no indication of departure from and returning to Cyprus is given. Manasses' information about Kontostephanos' coming to Cyprus (IV, 72) makes it clear that Cyprus was the final point of departure to Constantinople. If the Isauria episode makes any sense, one of the following chains of events becomes imaginable: Manasses was not the only member of the Kontostephanos delegation who stayed on Cyprus. On hearing that another delegation at Antioch had secured favourable results, they attempted to join this second delegation in Isauria; or, Kontostephanos, feeling that his negotiations might fail, sent (a number of members of) his delegation already back through Antioch and Isauria, whereas Manasses (and others) on Cyprus were briefed to join these members. The situation turned out to be too dangerous for the carrying out of this journey, and they crossed over (back again) from Syce to Cyprus. The very mentioning of this place-name, Syce, could be used as proof that the poem originally described such an intermediate episode. This Syce is mentioned by Theophanes, 445, 17 (De Boor), as κάστρον Συκῆς, a fortress situated on the coast of Isauria or Cilicia. *Ibid.*, 446, 24-25, Syce and Cyprus are mentioned in the same breath. A similar constellation is to be found in Anna Comnene XI, 10, 8: the fleet of Boutoumites sails out from Cyprus and is destroyed by a storm off Syce.¹¹ That is to say that Syce was a fairly frequently used harbour for the crossing to or from Cyprus.

Having returned to Cyprus they had to wait for Kontostephanos whose position in Tripoli (or Jerusalem) had become impossible after the tidings (or rumours) about the arrangements reached at Antioch.

¹⁰ See Kinnamos, *Epitome* (see n. 3), p. 210; Horna, p. 316.

¹¹ In his edition of Anna Comnene, *Alexiade*, 4 vols, Les Belles Lettres (Paris, 1937-76), B. Leib mistakenly takes Syce (l.c.) for Sycae near Constantinople; E.R.A. Sewter in his English trans. of the *Alexiade*, Penguin Classics (Baltimore and Harmondsworth, 1969), places Syce correctly in Cilicia.

After an adventurous flight from the Crusaders' territory he eventually arrives on Cyprus.

It is also clear that the description of Melisende as given by Manasses was composed at the moment that she was still in the race. Perhaps this was the special role Manasses had to play: every day he went to a small chapel, where one might expect the girl to come one day to say her prayers. It is Manasses who informs Kontostephanos about the physical appearance of the girl. It is possible also therefore that the passage with the portrait of the girl survived.

As has been remarked above, this is the only poem of Manasses written in iambic trimeters,¹² and given the character of the poem I am convinced that the metre was chosen because it is the common metre in classical tragedy, and certainly in the "obliged" tragic messenger's accounts.

Some years ago I published a long article on written portraits in Byzantine literature,¹³ stating that two tropes of models are dominant in Byzantium: a romantic model, taken from the romance of Achilles Tatius, and a "passport"-model as used by the first Byzantine chronographer, John Malalas (sixth century). These models are in fact genre-bound: the romantic type is found in romances and some historical works, e.g. in Psellos and Anna Comnene. The passport-model appears mostly in compilations of the Homeric epics, but by Malalas also for descriptions of political persons. In later Byzantine literature these models are combined. The striking thing in this poem of Manasses is that both models are applied one after the other, first the romantic model with its ideals of tall stature, white complexion, round brows, fair hair etc., then again the passport-model with its characteristically asyndetically connected adjectives, mostly beginning with εὖ- (well-).

In my translation I have tried to imitate, as far as I was able, the twelve-syllable iambic trimeters of the original. That is to say the end of the verse is always "masculine", with the accent on the twelfth syllable and/or on the tenth. The other syllables allow within the pattern of 2-4-6-8 (-10-12) accentuation some variation by means of choliambic shifts and the like. I ignored caesuras and in a number of cases I had recourse to anapaestic or dactylic feet.¹⁴

¹² The metric rules are conform to Byzantine standards. In a number of cases o-mikron is taken long; α, ι and υ are *ancipites*. For an analysis of the metre of this poem, see Horna, pp. 319-22.

¹³ Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", pp. 151-95.

¹⁴ I thank my colleagues Dr Peter Hatlie and Prof. Michael Metcalf for their help and suggestions for making my English text and my translation acceptable.

Τοῦ Μανασσῆ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου εἰς τὴν κατὰ τὰ
Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ.

<Λόγος πρῶτος.>

Ἄρτι θροούσης ἐκφυγὼν ζάλης ῥόφους
καὶ τὴν ἐπαφρίζουσαν ἄλμην πραγμάτων,
ὧν μοι προεξένησεν ἀπλότης τρόπου
ἀνθρωπίνης τε κακίας ἀπειρία,
μόλις προσέσχον εὐγαλήνῃ λιμένι 5
πλουτοῦντι τερπνὴν αὔραν ἀταραξίας
καὶ δὴ βίβλων χάριτας εὐρὼν ἀφθόνους
τοὺς τῶν μελισσῶν ἀπεμιμούμην πόνους.
νυκτὸς δέ μοι κάμνοντι καὶ πονουμένῳ
κὰν ταῖν χεροῖν φέροντι τὸν Ναυκρατίτην 10
ὑπνος πελάσας καὶ βλέφαρα συγκλίνας
ἐνυπνίοις με παρέπεμψεν ἀγρίοις.
Καὶ δὴ βλέπειν ἔδοξα κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους
τὸν πανσέβαστον ἀγχίνουν Ἰωάννην,
Κοντοστεφάνων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένον, 15
εἰς ναῦν τριήρη βάντα συντόνῳ ῥύμῃ
καὶ συνεφελκύνοντα κἀμὲ πρὸς βίαν,
εἴτα ξυναθροίζοντα καὶ στραταρχίαν,
ψιλοὺς, ἐνόπλους, σφενδονήτας, ἱππότας
καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλο ναυτικὸν καὶ ναυμάχον, 20
ὥς πνευμάτων τυχόντες ἀπαλοπνόων
ἰθυτενῶς πλεύσαιεν εἰς Σικελίαν·
ᾧ μιν γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους βλέπειν,
ὥς καὶ στρατάρχης καὶ στολάρχης ἐκρίθη.
ὦ πῶς τὰ λοιπὰ κλαύσομαί τε καὶ φράσω; 25
πολλαῖς νικηθεῖς καὶ πολυτρόποις βίαις
ἐμβὰς σὺν αὐτῷ τὴν λινόπτερον σκάφη
τὴν ἄλμυρὰν θάλασσαν ἐπλωϊζόμεν.
καὶ πρῶτα μέντοι δεξιῶς ἀνηγόμεν,
τοῦ πνεύματος πνέοντος ἀπαλωτέρου 30

¹⁵ For John Kontostephanos see my Introduction.

¹⁶ ἀπαλόπνοος is a word formed by Byzantine authors. Trapp, *LBG*, quotes Prodro-mos, *Rhodanthe*, 4, 368; Manasses, *Σύνοψις ἱστορική*, 208; Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, frg. III, 52, 6; and this place.

KONSTANTINOS MANASSES,
ABOUT HIS JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM (*HODOIPIRIKON*)

<first poem>

Just from the vexing noise of a big storm escaped
and from the foaming ocean of my many affairs,
to which I had been treated by my simple life
which had no knowledge of mankind's vicissitudes,
I nearly reached the harbour of tranquillity, 5
where richly blew a breeze of sweet untroubledness
and I had found the abundant pleasures of my books
and I was imitating so the industry of bees,
when, working hard and toiling far beyond midnight
with in my hands writs of the man from Naukratis, 10
I was attacked by Hypnos, who did close my eyes
and carried off me for a ride on frightening dreams.
I got the impression in my dreams that I there saw
His clever Highness august John,¹⁵ descendant of
that famous family of Kontostephanoi: 15
he went on board a trireme ship in full career
and took together also me against my will,
assembled then commanders too and light-armed troops
and heavy soldiers, slingers and equestrians
and quantities of sailors and of brave marines 20
in order that, with friendly blowing¹⁶ favourite winds,
they would go sailing straightaway to Sicily.
I thought, I saw the man himself in these my dreams
as a commander both of army and of fleet!
Oh, how shall I bewail and tell you all the rest? 25
Well, being vanquished by all sorts of violence
I found myself on board with him, on sail-winged¹⁷ ship,
and so was sailing now the briny waters of the sea.
At first I liked to be transported quietly¹⁸
- a friendly wind blew softly in a friendly way, 30

¹⁷ The word λινόπτερος is taken from Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 468, "λινόπτερ' ἦρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα".

¹⁸ The passage 29-32 recalls a similar situation in the *Batrachomyomachia*, when the mouse rides on the back of the frog, happy as long as the bank is nearby but scared to death when the frog takes a leap: *Batrachomyomachia*, 67-77.

καὶ τοῦ πελάγους προσγελῶντος τῷ σκάφει.
 ἔπειτα πικρὸς λαβράσας ἀπαρκτίας
 ἔσεισε τὴν ναῦν ὡς ἐλαφρὰν φυλλάδα,
 ἤγειρε φλοίσβους κυμάτων πολυρρόθων,
 τὴν ὑγρὰν ἠγρίαινε δυσπνόοις πνοαῖς· 35
 βρύχων ἀνεῖλκε καὶ καθεῖλκε τὴν σκάφην,
 ὡς δυστάλαντος ἄνισος ζυγοστάτης,
 ἄνω κάτω θέουσας ἀστατουμένην·
 ἐρρήγνυ πέτραις ὑφάλους δυσεκβάτοις
 καὶ προῦπτος ἦν κίνδυνος ἐκ τοῦ ταραχου. 40
 οὐκ ἦν λιμὴν εὐορμος, οὐκ ἦν εὐδία,
 οὐχ ὀλκαδοσώτειρα ναύλοχος στάσις·
 τὰ πάντα θροῦς ἦν, στρόμβος, ἀντίπνους ζάλη.
 ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν δειλία καὶ ναυτία
 στήθους τε παλμὸς καὶ ταραγμὸς καρδίας, 45
 ἕως πεσούσης τῆς πνοῆς τῆς δυσπνόου
 μόλις προσωκείλαμεν ὄρμοις εὐδίοις.
 Τοιαῦτα τινὰ συμπλάσας καὶ σκευάσας
 ὁ δυστυχῶς με συλλαβὼν ὕπνος τότε,
 γοργῶς ἀπέπτῃ καὶ παρήλθεν ὀξέως· 50
 ἐγὼ δὲ νήψας καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γυμνάσας
 πολλοὺς στεναγμοὺς ἀνέπεμψα βυθίους,
 μή μοι τὸ πικρὸν φάσμα τῶν ὄνειράτων
 κακὰ προμαντεύοιτο καὶ προμηνύοι.
 πάλιν δὲ πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπεμαχόμεν, 55
 τὴν ὧσιν ἀργὴν καὶ πλάνην μόνην κρίνων,
 ψευδῶς θορυβοῦσάν με ματαίοις φόβοις.
 ἢ δ' ἦν ἀληθὴς καὶ προμηνύουσά μοι
 τῶν συμφορῶν μου τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ ζάλας.
 τί δεῖ κατατείνειν με μακροὺς λόγους; 60
 Ἦὼς μὲν ἐπέλαμπεν ἄρτι φαιδρόχρους,
 ὁ δ' ἀστεράρχης καὶ φεραυγῆς φωσφόρος
 ἐκ γῆς ἀναβάς τοῖς ἄνω προσωμίλει,
 τὸ δ' εὐθὺς εὐθὺς καὶ παρὰ πόδας φθάνει

¹⁹ λαβράσας < λαβράζω. The form λαβρόομαι as used in Lycophron, 260 and 705, < λάβρος in Homer, *Ilias*, B, 148, "furious" of wind or water, seems more logical. For verba derivativa on -οῦν and -άζειν, see A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre* (Heidelberg, 1917), pp. 99-103; 118-27. "Schallwörter" in -άζειν are frequent (*ibid.*, §241).

the sea produced a lovely smile towards the ship,
 but then broke out¹⁹ a northern storm with utmost rage,
 which shook the ship as if it were a weightless leaf
 and roused the splashing noise of furious waves,
 made wild the water²⁰ through the stormy gales. 35
 Roaring it dragged the vessel now here up, there down,
 just like the scales deprived of equilibrium:
 the ship ran high and low, didn't find stability.
 On submarine and hardly escapable sharp cliffs
 it would break down; the dangerous turmoil was nearby! 40
 There was no harbour safe to moor, fine weather gone,
 no docking-place, which is salvation for a ship,²¹
 no, only din and whirligig and adverse winds.
 So, we were panic-struck and seized by seasickness,
 there was the groaning of our breast, our throbbing heart, 45
 until the frenzied hurricane died down
 and we could run ashore on roads by lucid sky.
 These kinds of pictures formed and showed this sleep to me,
 which at that time dragged me along annoyingly,
 but hastily then flew away and disappeared! 50
 Being awake and fixing whole this thing in mind
 I heaved a multitude of deeply uttered sighs:
 I feared, the bitter apparition of the dreams
 predicted and portended me disastrous things.
 But then again I would reject this argument, 55
 by thinking that this vision was just fast and vague
 and that it falsely frightened me with needless fears.²²
 Alas, 't was true, and it foretold me without fail
 the oceans and the heavy squalls of miseries!
 Why should I, though, prolong my words at greater length? 60
 No sooner Dawn appeared with all its colouring
 and had the Lord of stars, bright-shining Morning Star,
 ris'n from the earth and had addressed the heaven-borns,
 than at the same time fell before my very feet

²⁰ "τὴν ὑγρὰν ἠγρίαινε", a play on words, made possible by the itacism.

²¹ "ὀλκαδοσώτειρα ... στάσις". A new adjective on the pattern of ὀλκαδοχρίστης, a "ship-caulker", in Manetho astrologus, ed. H. Koechly (Leipzig, 1885), 4, 342.

²² Manasses more often mentions dreams, e.g. in *Aristandros and Kallithea*, frg. viii, 152, 1 "Ὀνειροὶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ φαντασιοκοποῦσιν, /..."

δυσάγγελον μήνυμα μεστὸν πικρίας,
 «σὺν τῷ σεβαστῷ συμπορευθήσῃ» λέγον
 «εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ Παλαιστίνην.»
 ἐγὼ δὲ πληγείς ὡς μύωπι τῷ λόγῳ
 οὐ συνεχύθην, οὐ προήχθην δακρῦσαι,
 οὐκ ἐκβαλεῖν στάλαγμα τῶν βλεφαρίδων.
 ταῖς ἀκοαῖς γὰρ ἐμπесὼν πικρὸς λόγος
 ψυχὴν τε νεκροῖ καὶ ψύχει τὴν καρδίαν·
 καὶ δακρύων μὲν ἀποκόπτεται ῥύμη,
 οἱ δὲ βρυχηθμοὶ δραπέται καὶ φυγάδες·
 φροῦδος στεναγμός, ἄλαλον δὲ τὸ στόμα.
 καὶ γοῦν τὰ πολλὰ τί μάτην περιπλέκω;
 Τῆς γλυκυτάτης ἀπάρας βασιλίδος
 εἶδον Νίκαιαν κάλλος ἀρχοῦσαν τόπου,
 εἶδον πελάγη λιπαρῶν πεδιάδων,
 πόλιν μυριάνθρωπον Ἰκονιέων.
 Κιλικίας ἔβλεψα τὴν κατοικίαν
 καὶ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὴν εὐφορωτάτας πόλεις,
 καλὰς μὲν ἰδεῖν, καλλίους δὲ τὰς θέσεις.
 εἰς ὅσιν ἦλθεν Ἀντιοχέων πόλις,
 ἡ παιδρότης, ἡ τέρψις, ἡ κοσμιότης
 χωρῶν ἀπασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν.
 ἐνωπτρισάμην καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς Δάφνης,
 κατετρύφησα ναμάτων Κασταλίας,
 νεκταρέων μὲν καὶ γλυκυτάτων πίνειν,
 ψυχρῶν δὲ θίγειν καὶ διειδῶν τὴν θέαν.
 τί δεῖ διαγράφειν με τὰς πάσας πόλεις,
 Σιδῶνα, Τύρον, λιμένας Βηρυτίων,
 Πτολεμαῖδα τὴν φονεῦτριαν πόλιν;

²³ δυσάγγελος, see Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, 20, 184, Theodoretus, ep. 21 (4, 1082).

²⁴ 71-75. This kind of physiological or philosophical explanation is fairly popular in Manasses (*Aristandros and Kallithea*, e.g. frg. vi, 121, 9 ff., “Ἐν δυσκομίστοις δὲ κακοῖς καὶ πόνοις δυσαγάλοις / φεύγουσι καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ...”; cf. also *ibid.*, 121a) and in Prodomos, *Katomyomachia*, e.g. 51 ff., 123.

²⁵ Strabo, ed. A. Meineke (Leipzig, 1877), 12, 7 (= 565), describes the surroundings of Nicaea as big and prosperous, “πεδῖον μέγα καὶ σφόδρα εὐδαιμον”.

²⁶ μυριάνθρωπος, not in LSJ, but twice in Lampe.

²⁷ Here ἐνωπτρισάμην — literally, “I saw as in a mirror” — probably means “I saw”, unless Manasses did not really visit Daphne, but saw it only from a distance.

²⁸ Cf. Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849), s.v. “Δάφνη”: “Δάφνη, προάστιον ἐπισημότατον τῆς ἔω Ἀντιοχείας μητροπόλεως”; Procopius Caesariensis, *De Aedificiis*, 5, 9, 29, *Bella*, 2, 11, 4 ff.: “τότε

the fatal message²³ full of awful bitterness,
 that said: “You shall accompany His Highness towards
 Jerusalem and to the land of Palestine.”
 I felt myself just struck by blindness by this word
 but I controlled myself and did not start to cry
 nor from my eyelids did I drop one single tear!
 For, when a bitter word invades the mind by ear,²⁴
 it kills the soul and wraps the heart up in a chill.
 Therefore, the stream of tears is totally cut off
 and all the lamentations go away in banishment,
 gone is the moaning and the mouth left without speech.
 However, why should I embrace these useless words?
 Off from my dearest city, the imperial,
 I saw Nicaea, boasting of its pretty site,²⁵
 I saw the seas of fertile and fruitbearing plains,
 I saw the town of countless men,²⁶ Iconium,
 I got to see the dwellings of Cilicia
 and all the prosperous cities there in that district,
 lovely to see, more lovely yet for residence.
 Entered my view the city of the Antiochenes,
 its splendiddness, civilization and the grace
 among the multitude of towns in Asia's lands.
 I had a look²⁷ at Daphne's very beauteous sight,²⁸
 pampered myself with water of Castalia's spring
 not only taking drinks from its sweet, tasty well,
 but also touching its refreshing, transparent stream.
 Why should I give descriptions of each of the towns
 like Sidon, Tyrus and the harbour(s) of Beirut
 and Ptolemaïs,²⁹ city of a murderous fame,

μὲν οὖν ἐς Δάφνην ἀνέβη (Chosroes sc.), τὸ Ἀντιοχείας προάστιον. ἔνθα δὲ τό τε ἄλσος ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀδάτων πηγὰς· ἄμφω γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ἐστὶ”, etc. See also Strabo (see n. 25), 16, 6 (= 750), who indicates that Daphne is a small village, about 40 stades north of Antioch, with a well watered forest and an asylum dedicated to Apollo and Artemis. Johannes Phokas, who undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1176, also gives a detailed description of Antioch and its surroundings and mentions the spring Kastalia; cf. Horna, p. 348, n. ad I 84 ff. On Phokas, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978) I, pp. 517, 518.

²⁹ Cf. Stephanus Byzantius (see n. 28), s.v. “Πτολεμαῖς”: “Πτολεμαῖς, πόλις Φοινίκης. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Ἀκὴ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἰάσεως τοῦ γενομένου δήγματος Ἡρακλεῖ ὑπὸ ὄφεως” (medieval Acco). Strabo (see n. 25), 134 (2, 39), mentions the length of daylight in these regions: “Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πτολεμαῖδα τὴν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ καὶ

Πτολεμαῖδα τὴν φθορᾶς ἐπαξίαν,
 ἐξ ἧς, Ἰησοῦ, φῶς ἀειβρύτου φάους, 95
 τὴν ἡλιακὴν ἀπομαράναις φλόγα
 καὶ συσκιᾶσαι τὴν πανόπτριαν κόρην,
 ὥς μὴ ποσῶς βλέποιο μισητὴ πόλις.
 εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἦλθον, εἶδον χωρίον
 πολλαῖς χαρίτων καλλοναῖς ἡνθισμένον, 100
 χαρίεν ἰδεῖν, εὐφυὲς τὰ πρὸς θέσιν·
 ἀῆρ καθαρός, πλημμυρίδες ὑδάτων
 λεπτῶν, διειδῶν, ὑγιῶν, ἀειρρύτων·
 δένδρῖτις ἡ γῆ, πάμφορος, καρποτρόφος,
 [πυροτρόφος, ἀγκαρπος, ἀμπελοφόρος,] 105
 ἐλαιόφυτος, λαχανηφόρος, πίων·
 πεδιάς ἱππήλατος, εὐμαρεῖς δρόμοι,
 λειμῶνες ἐμπρέποντες εὐόσμοις ῥόδοις·
 θέσις γλυκεῖα, προσφυῆς τῷ χωρίῳ·
 εἵποις ἂν ἰδὼν, ὥς γυνὴ τις φιλόπαις 110
 γαλακτοφάγον ἀγκαλίζεται βρέφος.
 ἐκεῖθεν ἦρται δυσανάβατος λόφος,
 δυσέμβολος, δύσμαχος, οὐκ ἔχων βάσιν,
 ὀξύς, τραχεινός, εἰς μακρὸν τεταμένος.
 ἐντεῦθεν ἄλλος μέχρις αἰθέρος φθάνων 115
 πέτρας προΐσχων ἡλιβάτους,
 ὄρθιος, ἀπόκρημνος, ἀνάντης λόφος.
 τὸ χωρίον δὲ τοῖν δυοῖν κεῖται μέσον,
 ὥς ὑπὸ μητρὸς σπαργανούμενον βρέφος,
 ὥσει κορίσκη παγκάλῃ τηρουμένη 120
 γυναικὶ φιλόπαιδι θαλαμευτρία.
 Οὕτω μὲν εἶχεν εὐφυῶς τὰ τοῦ τόπου·
 τέλος δὲ λοιπὸν εἶχεν ἡμῖν ὁ δρόμος
 καὶ φανεροῦσθαι τὸ κρυφίον ἤρχετο.

Σιδῶνα καὶ Τύρον ἡ μεγίστη ἡμέρα ἐστὶν ὥρῶν ἰσημερινῶν δεκατεττάρων καὶ τετάρτου". Strabo, 758 (16, 25 and 26), makes mention of a tidal wave which caused the death of a group of soldiers. Manasses emphasizes the high mortality in Ptolemais once more in Poem IV, 20.

³⁰ ἀεῖβρυτος, see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.

³¹ πανόπτριαν κόρην. The fem. πανόπτρια with masc. πανόπτης is mentioned in Photios, *Lexikon*, ed. S.A. Naber (Leiden, 1864/65).

³² On Samaria, see Strabo (see n. 25), 760 (16, 34). Herodes gave it the name Sebaste. According to Stephanus Byzantius (see n. 28) it was renamed Neapolis (= Nablus). Procopius Caesariensis (see n. 28), 5, 7, 1 ff., uses the same name and has a detailed story

that Ptolemais, which deserves its doom and gloom,
 from which, my Jesus, Light of the ever-spouting³⁰ Light, 95
 Thou may'st make withering the fire of the sun
 and shade the ever-looking, all-observing eye,³¹
 lest this abominable town ever be seen!
 To Samaria³² then I went and saw the spot
 which flourished through so many beautiful delights, 100
 delightful city to be seen, well-fit to stay:
 clean and fresh air, the water in redundant floods,
 fine, transparent and healthy, with eternal flow.
 The landscape full of trees which bear all kinds of fruit
 [producing wheat, all sorts of crops, and many vines],^{32a} 105
 growing a host of olive-trees and copious greens.
 A plain well-shaped for riding horse, convenient ways
 and meadows, full of fragrant roses, richly adorned,
 a sweet location, in agreement with the town.
 You might have said, if you it saw: in such a way 110
 holds in her arms a woman her milk-sucking babe.
 There rises up an inaccessible high hill,
 no entrance and unconquerable, without path,
 with sharp and rocky peaks, a lengthy range.
 Another hill, which has its crest up to the sky 115
 and makes its rough steep rocks³³ extend on every side,
 precipitous, with deep ravines, lies there, high-crowned.
 The town itself is situated in between,
 just like a babe whose mother wrapped him tightly in,
 or like a lovely little girl who's taken care 120
 of by a children-loving tender chambermaid.³⁴
 These were the fine amenities of this good place.
 And here then came our journey lastly to an end
 and nearer drew the secret goal to be revealed.

about Mount Garizim near Samaria. The Samaritans used the mountain for worshipping their gods, until Jesus had his talk with the Samaritan woman. In Christian times a church was built on the top of the mountain which was destroyed by the Samaritans and rebuilt by Justinian. The second mountain is Mount Ebal, see e.g. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, s.v. "Samaria" and "Palästina".

^{32a} Deleted by Horna: absent in M, but present in V.

³³ "πέτρας ... ἡλιβάτους": Homeric, e.g. *Ilias*, O, 273; *Odyssey*, ι, 243 (of the stone put at the entrance of his cave by the Cyclop).

³⁴ LSJ quotes for θαλαμεύτρια only Pollux, ed. E. Bethe (Leipzig, 1900), 3, 41, "bridesmaid", here more generally "chambermaid".

ὁ γὰρ σεβαστός, ἀκριβῶς πεπεισμένος 125
 ἄριστον εἶναι τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ μόνῳ
 μυστήριον κρύπτοντα τοῦ βασιλέως,
 οὐ παρεγύμνου τὸν σκοπὸν πρὸς οὐδένα.
 ἦν δὴ τὸ πᾶν βούλημα τοῦ βασιλέως
 καὶ τοῦ σεβαστοῦ τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς κρυψίνουν, 130
 καθὼς διέγων ὧς καὶ μετὰ χρόνον,
 τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀποδόσης τὸ χρέος,
 ἄλλων νέων ἔννοια παστοπηγίων.
 ὥς γὰρ θυγατέρων μὲν ἡδύπορει δύο,
 τὴν δ' ὑστέραν σφῶν εἶδεν ἐν ζόφῳ τάφου 135
 ἐν νηπιώδει παντελῶς ἡλικία,
 ἔρως παρηνώχλει δὲ παίδων ἀρρένων,
 ὧν καὶ πλέον χρήζουσιν ἀρχῆς τὰ κράτη,
 πρὸς δευτέρους ἔβλεψεν ἐννόμους γάμους.
 καίτοι γε πολλῶν πολλὰ ποτνωμένων 140
 καὶ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν ἐξαιτουμένων,
 εἰς τίνα καὶ ποῦ τοῦ δρόμου τὸ γοργόπουν ...
 ὥς οὖν λαθεῖν ἦν ἀδύνατον εἰς τέλος,
 οὗτο χάριν παρῆμεν εἰς Παλαιστίνην
 καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν τοὺς πολυρρύτους τόπους, 145
 ἰδεῖν τὸ κάλλος τῆς κόρης ἐγλιχόμεν,
 ἦν ὁ προλεχθεὶς κρυφίως ἐπετράπη
 νυμφοστολῆσαι καὶ κομίσαι πρὸς γάμον
 τῷ πορφυρανθεῖ Μανουὴλ τῷ δεσπότῃ.
 ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείᾳ δὲ τῷ πολυχνίῳ 150
 ἔτυχεν αὐτὴν τηνικαῦτα διάγειν.
 καὶ δὴ κατείδον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ πῶς ἐκφράσω;
 Οἰκίσκος ἦν τις ἀμυδρὸν τὸ φῶς ἔχων,
 κόσμον μὲν αὐχῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μῶμον φέρων·
 οὐ πλουσίας γὰρ εἶχεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου. 155
 τοῦτον θαμίζων πολλάκις ἀνιστόρουν.
 καὶ τὸ ζοφῶδες ἡτιώμην τοῦ δόμου·
 ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ἦν σύνηθες, εἰσιόντι μοι
 αἴφνης ὄρᾳται χιονόχρωτος κόρη
 καὶ τοῦ προσώπου τῆς φεραυγοῦς λαμπάδος 160

³⁵ τὸ κρυψίνουν, since Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 1, 6, 27.

³⁶ The elder daughter Maria was eventually engaged to Bela-Alexius of Hungary: see John Fine, jr., *The early Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1983, 1991 ff.), pp. 240-1.

For he, His Highness, had thus been instructed well 125
 that it would be the best affair that he alone
 would keep the imperial mystery strictly concealed
 and not reveal to anyone the purpose of the trip.
 It was the absolute intent of the emperor
 and of His Highness' secrecy,³⁵ kept towards us, 130
 - that's what I understood just late after some time -
 one should - because the empress paid her nature's debt -
 provide for making just a new connubial bed.
 He had two daughters, really a rich asset,
 of whom, alas, the youngest saw the gloomy grave, 135
 because she had already died at tender age,³⁶
 but he was more concerned about male progeny,
 a just necessary condition for the reigns,
 all reasons why he wished a second legal match!
 As many had yet often uttered loud protests 140
 and now demanded information on the affairs,
 for whose sake, for which place one had this journey made,
 as 't was at last impossible to keep the case
 in silence, as to why we were in Palestine
 and in the richly irrigated town Samaria, 145
 <His Highness now revealed the purpose of the trip>.³⁷ 145a
 Desire welled up in me to see the pretty girl,
 to whom the aforesaid had all his attention paid
 in secret, for escorting her as bride to wed
 her to the ruler Manuel, the purple-bloom.
 This little town Samaria by coincidence 150
 was at that time the place where she, the maiden, stayed.
 And really, I saw her there. How to explain?
 There was a little building, scarcely having light,
 which boasted on its people, but should be reproached,
 because it let not in the bright beams of the sun. 155
 I often went inside, took information, too,
 and always had to blame the darkness of the house.
 But once, when I, as usual, was entering,
 caught there and all at once my eye a snow-white girl.
 And from the beaming torch of her so radiant face 160

³⁷ Horna indicates a lacuna after v. 142; I think that the lacuna (if it should be assumed) should be indicated after 145. I have added a possible supplement, *exempli gratia*.

φωτὸς πυριμάρμαρον ἐκφέρει σέλας
 καὶ καταλάμπει καὶ διώκει τὸν ζόφον·
 ἔφωσε, κατέπληξε, κατήστραψέ με.
 εἶπον καθ' αὐτόν· «μὴ κεραυνὸς εἰσέδω,
 μὴ τῆς σελήνης κύκλος εἰς γῆν ἔρρῳ;» 165
 ἀπαράμιλλος ἦν τὸ κάλλος ἡ κόρη,
 ὑπὲρ τὸ γάλα καὶ καλὴ καὶ λευκόχρους,
 ἐπίχαρις, σύμμετρος, εὐχρους, ξανθόθριξ,
 ἀναδρομὴ σώματος ὠραϊσμένη,
 φοίνικος ἔρνος — εἶπεν ἄν τις προσφόρως — 170
 καλὸν, νεοβλάστητον, ὀρθὸν τὴν στάσιν·
 πολλὴ βαθεῖα καὶ κατάχρυσος κόμη·
 εὐκυκλος ὀφρύς, εὐφυεῖς βλεφαρίδες·
 ὄμμα προσηνές, ἰλαρόν, στίλβον χάριν· 175
 καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος, εὐπερίγραπτον στόμα,
 καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος, ὑπέρυθρον, κοκκόχρουν.
 εἴ που δὲ μικρὸν μειδιᾶσαι συνέβη
 διαχεθεῖσαν σωφρονικῶς τὴν κόρην,
 ἱαταταὶ τὸ κάλλος οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· 180
 εὐτορνος ἡ ρίς, τὴν πνοὴν ἔλευθέρα·
 εὐρυθμος ἡ κίνησις, εὐμετρος βάσις·
 ἦθος γαληνότητι συγκεκραμένον
 καὶ τηλικαύτη προσφορώτατον κόρη·
 παιδευσίς ἀσύγκριτος, εὐγενὲς γένος· 185
 ἐξ αἵματος γὰρ Καισάρων Ἰουλίων
 σκηπτροκρατούντων τῶν μερῶν τῆς ἐσπέρας.
 ἀπλῶς ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν αἱ συρμάδες,
 εἰς ἓν χεθεῖσαι καὶ κραθεῖσαι παγκάλως,
 ἓν μίγμα τερπνὸν εἰργάσαντο τὴν κόρην
 καὶ φύσεως ἄγαλμα καὶ κόσμον γένους. 190

³⁸ ἔφωσε aor. from φώσκω = φαύσκω, cf. φῶς/φάος.

³⁹ See Homer, *Odyssey*, 6, 163, "φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα".

⁴⁰ The verses 175 and 176 both start with the words "καλὸν τὸ χεῖλος", which points to a corruption. Literary portraits usually mention (the colour of) the cheeks between the eyes and mouth. Perhaps one should read in 175: "καλὸν τὸ χρῶμα", implying the common white and rosy colouring of the παρειαί or simply καλαὶ παρειαί; cf. Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", esp. pp. 151-65 and 184.

⁴¹ The word κοκκόχρους is a neologism.

⁴² διαχεθεῖσα, a late Hellenistic form = διαχυθεῖσα < διαχέομαι = be relaxed; cf. LSJ, s.v. "διαχέω 4" and "διάχυσις".

⁴³ The exclamation ἱαταταὶ = Att. ἱατταταῖ is taken from Aristophanes, *Equites*, 1.

she spread out such a shine like brightly sparkling fire
 that all the darkness she outshone and drove away.
 She brightened me,³⁸ astounded me, and dazzled me.
 I said then to myself: "did strike a thunderbolt?
 Was it the lunar disc which came down to the earth?" 165
 The beauty of the girl was incomparable,
 and her complexion very fair, whiter than milk,
 both charming and harmonious, well-skinned and blond,
 her stature tall and blooming, just proportionate,
 a fresh young palm-tree³⁹ -as one rightly would have said -, 170
 a beauty, newly sprouted, bolt upright indeed
 with very thick and widely floating golden hair,
 well-rounded brows and with well-shapèd eyelashes,
 with gentle eyes, cheerful as well, and gleaming grace.
 Her cheeks⁴⁰ were beautiful, her mouth so well designed, 175
 her lips were charming, crimson, red as red could be,⁴¹
 and when it happened that she showed a little smile,
 the girl who was relaxed and sensible as well,⁴²
 ah me! — I can't describe, how beautiful she was!⁴³
 Well-arched her nose, her breathing free and regular,⁴⁴ 180
 the way she moved was delicate, steady her gait,
 her temper proved a keynote of serenity,
 more than should be expected of a girl so young!
 And incomparably well-bred, from noble stock:
 for she sprung from the Iulius Caesar families 185
 who bear the sceptres in the countries of the West.⁴⁵
 So, simply said, the threads⁴⁶ of all the beauties were
 twisted together in one skein of lovely blend,
 which let the maiden grow into a joyful mix
 and made her Nature's statue praise her family. 190

The other form ἱατταταῖαξ from the same quotation is applied by Theodoros, *Katomy-omachia*, v. 193.

⁴⁴ The ability to breathe freely seems to have been a sign of health. In her description of Bohemund of Tarent, Anna Comnena (*Alexiade*, 13, 10, 4) makes a similar remark: "Καὶ ἡ ρίς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ μυκτὴρ ἐλεύθερον ἔπνει τὸν ἀέρα" ("His nose and nostrils freely inhaled the air").

⁴⁵ The reference to Julius Caesar implies a dynastic relationship because to the Byzantines Julius Caesar is the first Roman emperor. At the same time, the reference resuscitates the Byzantine claims to the whole (ancient) Roman Empire.

⁴⁶ The word ἡ συρμάς is mentioned in LSJ with the meaning "snowdrift". The meaning here is clearly "threads"; cf. Modern Greek (τὸ) σύρμα.

ὁ Μῶμος αὐτὸς ἠπόρησεν ἄν ψόγου.
 τί γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὴν Ἑλένης ἡ λευκότης,
 ἦν μῦθος ἀνέπλασεν ἐκ Διὸς φύναι;
 γένος τὸ πρῶτον, πυριμάρμαρος θέα,
 ἡ παῖς ἀπαράμιλλος, ὕψους ἀξία, 195
 εὖοφρυς, εὐπρόσωπος, εὐπρεπεστάτη,
 εὖοπτος, εὐπλόκαμος, εὐγενεστάτη,
 τὴν ἡλικίαν ὀρθία καὶ τὴν πλάσιν
 ὑπὲρ πλατάνους, ὑπὲρ ἀναδενδράδας.
 οὕτως ἔχουσιν κατιδὼν καὶ θαυμάσας 200
 καὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀξίαν εἶναι κρίνας
 καὶ χαριτοπρόσωπον ὥς εὐχρυστάτην,
 τὸν μὲν σεβαστὸν ἐπτέρουν ταῖς ἐλπίσιν,
 ὥς τῶν ἐπάθλων εὐπορήσει μειζόνων
 τοιόνδε δῶρον δυσπόριστον προσφέρων 205
 τῷ φιλοδώρῳ βασιλεῖ γῆς Αὐσόνων·
 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ ταλάντατος ὠνειροσκόπουν,
 ὥς τάχιον βλέψαιμι τὴν Κωνσταντίνου.
 ἀλλ' ἀντιπνεύσας κακίας ὁ καικίας
 χειμῶνας ἐξήγειρεν ἀελλοπνόους, 210
 τρικυμίας φόβητρα, ναυτίας ζάλας
 καὶ βραδυτήτας καὶ σχολὰς παραλόγους.
 τί ταῦτα τλήμων εἰς μάτην καταλέγω,
 τῆς Αἰσχύλου χρήζοντα δραματοουργίας
 ἢ τῆς Φρυνίχου πενθικῆς στωμυλίας; 215
 εἰ γὰρ τὰ πάντα κατὰ λεπτὸν τις φράσει,
 ὑπερβαλεῖται συγγραφὴν Θουκυδίδου.

⁴⁷ Momus (Blame) is mentioned by Hesiod, *Theogony*, 214, as a child of Nyx (Night): "And again the goddess murky Night, though she lay with none, bare Blame and painful Woe,..." (trans. H.G. Evelyn-White, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1974)).

⁴⁸ The later poet Hermoniakos (fourteenth century), II, 194-5, stresses the unbelievable whiteness of Helen: "εἶχε γὰρ τὴν σάρκα ὄλην / ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκόχρουν" ("her body was more white than snow"); see Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", p. 177.

⁴⁹ The following verses bring another description of the princess, this time according to the "passport-type", such as used by Malalas, Tzetzes a.o., see Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt", pp. 165 ff.

⁵⁰ "τῷ ... βασιλεῖ γῆς Αὐσόνων", a striking use of the idea Ausonia = Italy. Here again the claim to the totality of the Roman Empire emerges. The term is only scarcely used by Byzantine historians, but the idea is more often seen in Manasses' *Σύνοψις*

Even Momus⁴⁷ himself would find nothing to blame!
 For Helen's whiteness,⁴⁸ what was that with her compared,
 Helen of whom in myth was told, she was Zeus' child?
 From first-class stock, appearance sparkling like a fire,
 the girl was just unrivalled, fully worthy of her rank:⁴⁹ 195
 well-browed, well-faced, good-looking to the highest degree,
 well-eyed, well-tressed, well-born in highest nobility,
 her stature and her posture being straight and tall
 above the plane-trees or above the climbing vines!
 Such was the maiden whom I saw, whom I admired 200
 and whom I thought was worthy of the emperor,
 not only by her gracious face but colour too,
 so that I brought His Highness to excited hopes
 that in fulfilling these major tasks he would succeed
 by bringing such a gift, hardly procurable, 205
 to him, the generous emperor of Roman land!⁵⁰
 And I, the most pitiable man, I really dreamt
 I would soon see again the City of Constantine!
 But the northeaster blew disastrous adverse winds
 and roused furiously blowing howling winter storms 210
 which caused terrible dash of waves that lashed the ship
 with commensurately long delays, unlooked-for halts.
 How should I, wretched man, sum up these miseries
 which need the art of tragedy of Aeschylus
 or Phrynichus's sorrowful verbosity?⁵¹ 215
 Should someone give minute descriptions of all this,
 he would surpass the Story⁵² of Thucydides.

ιστορική: 2550, 3294, Αὐσονάναξ; 3212, 4110, 5589, Αὐσονάρχης; 3189, 6059, Αὐσονοκράτωρ, etc.; cf. also Trapp, *LBG*, s.v. "Αὐσονάναξ". The idea is perhaps taken from Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, e.g. 41, 389-391: "Σκῆπτρον ὅλης Αὐγουστος ὅτε χθονὸς ἡνιοχεύσει / Ῥώμῃ μὲν ζαθέῃ δωρήσεται Αὐσόνιος Ζεὺς / κοιρανίην" ("When Augustus shall hold the sceptre of the world, Ausonian Zeus will give to divine Rome the lordship"; trans. W.H.D. Rouse, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1984)).

⁵¹ The tragic poet Phrynichus is mentioned here together with his famous younger contemporary, Aeschylus. Here Manasses undoubtedly had in mind Herodotus, 6, 21, which recounts that Phrynichus, with his tragedy *Μιλήτου ἄλωσις* (The Sack of Miletus), moved all the spectators in the theatre of Athens to tears, for which he was fined one thousand drachmas and forbidden to stage the tragedy again. No fragment survived.

⁵² *συγγραφὴ* is the common word for "history". However, Manasses does not use the Attic form *ξυγγραφὴ* as in Thucydides, I, 98, 2.

Χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ καὶ μετὰ μακροὺς πόνους,
 Νεαπολιτῶν τὴν πόλιν λελοιπότες,
 Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὀλβιωτάτην πόλιν, 220
 κατείδομεν, πλουτοῦσαν ἀσφαλῇ θέσιν
 (μικροῦ γὰρ ἄνευ ἀρκτικωτέρου μέρους
 κοιλάς βαθεῖα, δυσανάβατος φάραγξ
 ὅλην περιείληφε κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν).
 κατησπασάμην τὸν πολύτιμον τάφον, 225
 ἐν ᾧ δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς παρηννομηκότας
 καθαπερεὶ λέοντος ὑπνώσας σκύμνος
 ὁ χοῦν φυράσας εἰς Ἀδὰμ διαρτίαν
 τοῖς ἐξ Ἀδὰμ ἐβλυσεν ἀειζωίαν.
 τὸ Γολγοθᾶ κατεῖδον· εἶδον τὰς πέτρας 230
 τὰς πρὶν ῥαγείσας καὶ λυθείσας ἐκ φόβου,
 ὅταν θεός μου καὶ κεραμεὺς τοῦ γένους
 τὸ κοσμοσωτήριον ὑποστὰς πάθος
 ἐκ τῶν λίθων ἤγειρεν Ἀβραὰμ τέκνα,
 τὴν συντριβεῖσαν ἀνακαινίζων φύσιν. 235
 τὴν γῆν ἐβλεψα καὶ περιεπτύξαμην,
 εἰς ἣν κατεζόφωσαν οἱ θεοκτόνοι
 τὸ μακαριστὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον ξύλον.
 ἐκεῖθεν ἐκβὰς εἰς Σιών ἀφικόμην,
 ἥτις με πολλαῖς κατέθελξε χάρισιν, 240
 ἐκτὸς μὲν οὖσα, πλησίον δὲ κειμένη
 καὶ δὴ παραψαύουσα τῶν πυργωμάτων.
 ἐκεῖ κατεῖδον τὸν τρισόλβιον τόπον,
 ἐν ᾧ μαθητῶν ἀπένιψε τοὺς πόδας
 ὁ τὰς θαλάσσας χαλινῶν τὰς ἀσχέςτους. 245
 μικρὸν μεταστὰς εἶδον οἰκίσκον βραχύν,
 ὅπου μαθητῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ἀπεκρύβη
 τὴν λύσσαν ἐκφεύγουσα τῶν μαιφόνων,
 καθαπερεὶ πρόβατα τὰ χλοηφάγα,

⁵³ The Palestinian town Nablus was founded as Νεάπολις in A.D. 72, and it was situated between Mount Eval and Mount Gerizim. See also the Madaba mosaic map: Michael Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954), pl. 6; commentary p. 45, nr. 32.

⁵⁴ For δυσανάβατος, see LSJ (one instance) and Trapp, *LBG*, s.v., where, however, our place is not mentioned.

⁵⁵ See Matth. 27:52.

⁵⁶ καταζοφώω, a neologism < ζόφος, "darkness", "obscurity". The spot mentioned points to the (apocryphal) story of the discovery of the three crosses, among which the

Much time and also many troubles were elapsed
 before we left the city with the name Nablus,⁵³
 and saw the very prosperous town Jerusalem, 220
 that holds a place which guarantees security
 (for, with exception of a small part in the North,
 it is surrounded by a great deep plain, a gorge,
 which, hard to climb,⁵⁴ embraces whole the city round).
 I paid my homage to the costly Holy Grave, 225
 in which for us, who did transgress the divine law,
 the One who rests asleep as a lion's cub, the One
 who mixed the clay from which the limbs of Adam grew,
 made sprout eternal life for those from Adam's seed.
 I had a look at Golgotha, I saw the rocks 230
 which in advance got rent and split simply from fear,⁵⁵
 when He, my God, the Potter of men's family,
 suffered the passion of salvation of mankind
 and from the tombstones did arise Abraham's kin
 and recreated nature which was at a loss. 235
 I saw the ground and I embraced the sacred spot
 there where the murderers of God had made obscure⁵⁶
 the very blessed and venerable holy wood.
 From there departed, then I went to Sion, which
 enchanted me with all its charming pure delights. 240
 It's situated outside but not far away
 and nearly touching the high bulwarks of the town.
 I looked there at the threefold sanctified place
 where He had washed the feet of his disciples, He⁵⁷
 who bridled the infinite waters of the seas.⁵⁸ 245
 A little further I saw, walking, the small house,
 where took refuge the battle-line⁵⁹ of disciples
 fearing the furious madness of the murderers,⁶⁰
 just as would do a flock of meadow-grazing sheep

True Cross, by Helen, mother of Constantine the Great. For an analysis of this legend, see J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: Waarheid en legende* (Groningen, 1989) (diss.); *idem*, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the legend of Her Finding of the True Cross*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 27 (Leiden, 1990).

⁵⁷ John 13:5 ff.

⁵⁸ Matth. 8:26.

⁵⁹ μαθητῶν ἡ φάλαγξ, a beautiful oxymoron to characterize the situation.

⁶⁰ John 20:19.

ἐπιδρομήν φεύγοντα λύκων ἀγρίων, 250
 τοῦ θηροφόντου μὴ παρόντος ποιμένος.
 πῶς ἂν λαθοίμην τοῦ καλοῦ δωματίου,
 ἐν ᾧ διατρίβοντες ἀδιαστάτως
 γλώσσαις ἐπλουτίσθησαν οἱ λινορράφοι
 ἀνθρακομόρφοις, πυρίναις, ἄλλοθρόοις, 255
 ἃς ἐσφυρηλάτησε Πνεύματος βία
 ἐκ τῶν ἀφανῶν, ἐμφλόγων πυρεκβόλων;
 ἐκεῖ κατεῖδον ἄλλον ἔνθεον τόπον,
 ἐν ᾧ περ ἐξέψυξεν εἰς υἱοῦ χέρας
 ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου καθαρῶτατος δόμος. 260
 κατῆλθον ἐγγὺς εἰς μυχοὺς ὑπογνόφους,
 οἷς ἐγκαθίσας ὁ θρασύδειλος Πέτρος
 δάκρυσιν ἀπένιψε τὴν ἁμαρτάδα.
 ἡ Γεθσημανὴ τῆς θεόπαιδος κόρης
 τὸν τρισέραστον τάφον ὑπέδειξέ μοι, 265
 λυπρὸν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ ταπεινὸν χωρίον,
 ἔνδον δὲ κρύπτον ἀτίμητον λυχνίτην·
 (τολμηρὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μοι συγγνωστέον·)
 εἶπον καθ' αὐτόν· «τοῦτο κόχλου σκληρότης,
 καὶ θαλαμεύει βασιλικὴν πορφύραν· 270
 ἢ φλοῦς τραχεινὸς ὀστράκου θαλαττίου,
 τρέφει δ' ἔσωθεν στιλπνότητα μαργάρου·
 ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ὀξύτης ἀκανθίνης,
 ἐν ᾗ τὸ χρυσοῦν ὑπανατέλλει ῥόδον.»
 εἰς τὸν πολυῦμνητον ἀνέβην λόφον, 275
 ἐν ᾧ στάς ἐνσώματος ὁ στήσας ὄρη
 ἐπηυλόγησε τοὺς σοφοὺς ἀποστόλους
 καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχίφωτον ἦρθη πατέρα.
 εἰς Βηθλεὲμ παρῆλθον, εἶδον τὴν φάτνην.
 τῆς Ἰεριχοῦς ταῖς καμίνοις ἐφλέγην. 280
 εἶδον πνιγερὰν ψαμμίνην πεδιάδα,
 πεφρυγμένην, ἄνικμον, ἀπεψυγμένην,
 ἐν ᾗ τοσοῦτον ἡλίου φλόξ εἰσφλέγει,
 ὥς εἰς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον αὐτὸν εἰσδύνειν.

⁶¹ See Acta Apost. 2:2 ff.

⁶² For πυρεκβόλος see LSJ, quoting Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Problemata*, 1, 38: πυρεκβόλα, "fire-throwing machines".

⁶³ ὑπόγνοφος, a neologism, a compound of ὑπο-, "a little" (see LSJ s.v. "ὑπό F II"), and γνόφος.

when flying from the attack of savage hungry wolves, 250
 because the herd, who averts the beasts, is absent now.
 I didn't forget, of course I didn't, that lovely room,⁶¹
 where without intermission the net-menders stayed,
 until they were enriched by these miraculous,
 strange-language-speaking charcoal-formèd fiery tongues, 255
 as they were forged by force of him, the mighty Ghost,
 from invisible flame-projectors, throwing fire!⁶²
 And yet another divine place I visited,
 where in the hands of her own son the purest house,
 which ever had created God, breathèd her last. 260
 I also reached these semi-dark and gloomy⁶³ spots,
 where he, the stout-faint-hearted⁶⁴ Petrus, came, sat down
 and washed his sin in floods of tears, fully distressed.
 Gethsemane was showing me that lovely grave
 in which was laid the virgin, she, whose child was God, 265
 a humble place and miserable to be seen,
 but holding inside hidden that so precious pearl
 (a just bold statement, yes, I know, forgive me, though),
 on which I thus said to myself: "hard is that shell,
 and it preserves the purple of imperial dress, 270
 or, otherwise, rough oyster-shell found in the sea,
 inside of which the splendour of a pearl is grown,
 or, even better may be said, the pricks of thorns,
 in midst of which sprang in full bloom a golden rose!"
 I then ascended there the hill much-famed in song,⁶⁵ 275
 where the embodied stood, who made the mountains stand,
 and gave his blessings to his wise apostles, just
 before he went back to his Father, source of light.
 To Bethlehem I travelled too, and saw the crib;
 the furnaces of Jericho, which burnt me down! 280
 I caught sight of the suffocating plain of sand,
 parched by the sun, deprived of moisture, barren land,
 in which the solar rays are oft so strong
 that sunbeams really seem to penetrate the brain.

⁶⁴ θρασύδειλος: a witty neologism to characterise the person of Peter, probably created by Manasses himself. See also Matth. 26:75.

⁶⁵ "The mount called Olivet", Acta Apost. 1:12.

θέλω μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν τρέμω
 (ὀφθαλμὲ παντεπόπτα, μὴ θύμαινέ μοι)·
 τὴν Ἰερικὴ μὴδὲ καθ' ὕπνους ἴδω.
 ὕδωρ Ἰορδάνειον ἀπενιψάμην·
 ὕδωρ κατεῖδον παντόφυρτον ἰλύϊ,
 οὐκ ἀθόλωτον οὐδὲ καλὸν εἰς πόσιν,
 οἷα χροῖα γάλακτος ἢ τούτου χροῖα·
 ἀργαὶ γὰρ εἰς κίνησιν αἱ τούτου ῥύσεις,
 ὕπνου ἂν εἴποις τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν δρόμον.
 Τί ταῦτα, Χριστέ, φῶς ὑπερχρόνου φάους,
 πῶς μέχρι πολλοῦ πρὸς τόπους ἀνεστράφης
 ξηρούς, πνιγηρούς, φλεκτικούς, θανασίμους;
 ἂν ἐννοήσω τῆς Ναζαρέτ τὸ πνίγος,
 ἐκπλήττομαι σου τὴν ταπείνωσιν, Λόγε.
 καλῶς ἐμαρτύρησας ἀδόλως ἔχειν
 τοῦ Ναθαναὴλ τὸν περὶ ταύτης λόγον·
 «τί γὰρ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Ναζαρέτ ἐκτρέφει;»
 ἀλλ' ὥς ἔοικεν, ὥς ἐπίστασαι μόνος,
 ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σοῖς σωματικοῖς ἐκλέγῃ,
 εἴ τι πενιχρόν, εἴ τι τῶν ἀνωνύμων·
 ἐκ μὲν ποταμῶν τὰς ῥοὰς Ἰορδάνου
 μὴδ' ἐν ποταμοῖς συγκαταριθμουμένου,
 ἐκ τῶν πολιχνίων δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης
 τὰ λυπρότατα καὶ κατεσκληρυμμένα,
 τὴν Καπερναοὺμ τὴν κατεστυγημένην
 καὶ τὴν Ναζαρέτ τὴν ἀπηνθρακωμένην.
 σεπτοὶ μὲν εἰσι πάντες οἱ θεῖοι τόποι,
 ἐν οἷς ὁ Σωτὴρ σαρκικῶς ἀνεστράφη·
 πλὴν εἴπερ ἐξέλαι τις ἀνυποστόλως
 τῶν δεσποτικῶν θαυμάτων τὸ μυρίπνουν,
 σκληραῖς ἀκάνθαις τοὺς τόπους παρεικάσοι.
 τί γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἄξιον λόγου;
 ἀήρ πονηρός, καυματώδης, πυρώδης,
 ἄτακτος, ἀβέβαιος, οὐκ ἔχων στάσιν·
 σφοδρὸν τὸ καῦσος, ἀνυπόστατον φέρειν.
 ἄκρατος ἀήρ ὕδατων ἐρημία.
 ὅπου δ' ἀφ' ὕψους ἐκρυσήσεται δρόσος
 καὶ τῶν νεφῶν ψέκασμα μικρὸν ἐκδράμη,

⁶⁶ ὑπέρχρονος, "transcending time", see Lampe, s.v. 1.

I wish to say, but now again I fear to say
 (oh, all-observing eye, don't be angry with me)
 may even in my dreams I not see Jericho!
 In river Jordan's water streams I took a bath
 and saw the water everywhere mixed up with mud,
 nowhere untroubled, nowhere being fit for drink,
 and coloured in the same white colour as is milk.
 Its currents are extremely slow of movement
 so that the river could be said to be asleep.
 What's this, my Christ, You Light of super-temporal⁶⁶ Light,
 that long ago You settled in a place like this,
 so dry, so suffocating, and so deadly hot!
 And when I think about the heat of Nazareth,
 then I am perplexed by Your humility, oh Word!
 You truly gave the evidence that what was said
 about that place was well said by Nathaniel:
 "Can any good thing come there out of Nazareth?"⁶⁷
 But as it seems, and You alone You know that best,
 that always You preferred in Your somatic state
 things that were poor, things that were from the anonymous:
 from all the rivers in the world the Jordan stream,
 which does not even count among the rivers, no,
 and from the cities lying in Palestinian land
 the most deplorable and the utmost obdurate,
 such as the highly cursed and damned Capharnaum
 and Nazareth which is a furnace stoked with coal.
 Sacred, for sure, are all these places most divine,
 where He, our Saviour, in the flesh did walk about,
 but should a person take away without reserve
 the holy odour of the wonders of the Lord,
 then were these spots only compared with solid thorns.
 For what, indeed, is in these lands worth mentioning?
 The air is bad and scorching, it is full of fire,
 unstable, unpredictable and without stand.
 The heat is awful and is just unbearable,
 and without moisture is the air where water lacks.
 However, where some dew is falling from above
 and from the clouds a little raindrop comes to earth,

⁶⁷ John 1:46.

ὥς οἶνος εὖπνους, ὥς μύρον συγκλείεται.
 ἂν ὑπὸ δίψους φλεκτικοῦ φρύγοιτό τις,
 δύσοσμον ὕδωρ, ἰλυῶδες ἐκπίνει, 325
 ὠνούμενος καὶ τοῦτο (φεῦ λειψυδρίας).
 ἀπόκροτος γῆ, κραναή, πεφρυγμένη,
 ἐν ἧ ταλαιπωροῦσιν ἀτλήτοις πόνοις
 καὶ τληπαθοῦσι καμάτοις βαρυτάτοις
 καὶ βοῦς ἀροτρεὺς καὶ χέρες δρεπανίται. 330
 ὦ γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὃ θεόδητος πόλις,
 ἥ καὶ τὸ φῶς δεῖξασα καὶ θρέψασά με,
 ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, καλλονὰς βλέψαιμί σου.
 ναὶ ναί, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὰς σὰς ἀγκάλας·
 ναὶ ναί, γενοίμην ὑπὸ τὴν πτέρυγά σου 335
 καὶ διατηροίης με καθὰ στρουθίον.

Λόγος δεύτερος.

Τούτων μετασχὼν τῶν καλῶν θεαμάτων,
 ὑποστροφὴν ταχεῖαν εὐρεῖν φόμην
 καὶ τὸ προσόν μοι βάρος ἀπορραπίσαι.
 ἀλλὰ φθάσασα καὶ πάλιν ταχυδρόμος
 ἢ πανταχοῦ συνοῦσά μοι δυσποτμία 5
 πάλιν κατέσχε, πάλιν ἐθρόησέ με.
 μόλις ἀναβὰς εἰς τριήρη ταχύπλουν
 εἰς τὴν στυγητὴν οὐριοδρόμουν Τύρον,
 ἣτις σπανίζει καὶ κοτύλης ὕδάτων.
 ὃ παγκακία, παντομίσητος Τύρος· 10
 τὸν γὰρ βαρύν σου καὶ πνιγερὸν ἀέρα
 καὶ τὴν ἀποφρύγουσαν ἡλίου φλόγα
 τίνων διηγῆσαιντο γλῶσσαι ῥητόρων;
 ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἄρχεται τὰ τῆς νόσου,
 νόσου δυσαλθοῦς, βαρυσυμφορωτάτης· 15
 ἀνάπτεται μοι πυρετὸς καυματίας,
 ὥς πῦρ λιπαρόν, εὐπορῆσαν φρυγάνων.
 τὰ σπλάγχνα πιμπρᾷ, βόσκεται τὴν οὐσίαν.

⁶⁸ Βοῦς ἀροτρεὺς: for this connection see Hesiod, "Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι", 406/7: "Οἶκον μὲν πρῶτιστα γυναῖκά τε βοῦν τ' ἀροτῆρα, / κτητὴν, οὐ γαμετὴν." The form ἀροτρεὺς is to be found in Theocritus, 25, 1 and 51. My plural is for metrical reasons.

⁶⁹ Cf. Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, frg. III, 60,1, "Λέγεται γὰρ τοὶ βασιλεὺς στρουθιομήτωρ ὄρνις, /..."

then is it like a fragrant wine, or fine perfume.
 But when a man is shrivelled up by fiery thirst,
 he finds no drink but ill-smelling and full of mire, 325
 for which he has to pay much, too, (oh, lack of wet!).
 The land is hard and rocky, desiccated by the heat,
 in which with pains, unbearable there toil and moil
 and suffer from the heaviest tirednesses
 both ploughing-oxen and the hands of harvesters.⁶⁸ 330
 Oh, Byzantinian land, oh City built by God,
 which made me see the light and bred and fostered me,
 oh, were I now in thee to see your effulgence,
 yea, yea, I wish I were in your embracing arms,
 yea, yea, I wish I were under your saving wing 335
 while you look after me just like your little bird!⁶⁹

Second Poem

Having enjoyed the beauty of these many sights
 I thought I would now find a speedy return home
 and thus drive off the sorrow which I bore in me.
 But there she came and in a hurry, once again,
 my misfortune⁷⁰ that follows me just everywhere: 5
 again she caught me and again she frightened me.
 No sooner had I embarked upon a fast trireme
 en route for Tyrus -before the wind- the town I hate,
 where scarcely can be found a waterbowl with drink
 - oh, you disastrous Tyrus, you, all-hateful place, 10
 for, yes, your heavy and much suffocating air⁷¹
 as well as this hot burning sun which dries all up,
 which tongues of rhetors can these things rightly describe? -
 than there began the symptoms of my being ill,
 a deadly⁷² illness, absolutely unbearable. 15
 High fever got a hold of me and set me ablaze
 just like a fire, fed by oil, consuming twigs;
 it burned my heart and liver and it grazed my life,

⁷⁰ δυσποτμία, "ill-luck", here personified.

⁷¹ Strabo (see n. 25) makes no remark on the climate of Tyrus; however, he censures the unpleasant living conditions due to the many dyehouses for purple (16, 2, 23).

⁷² "νόσου δυσαλθοῦς". Δυσαλθής, a medical term, "incurable", "deadly", here, of course, used in an exaggerated way. The symptoms mentioned point to typhus.

ἀπηνθράκωσεν, ἐξεδαπάνησέ με·
 ἐπυρπόλησεν, ἐξετηγάνισέ με. 20
 ἀτμίσι πυκναῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐζόφου
 καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ τὰς κόρας συνεζόφου.
 αἱ τρίχες ἐξέπιπτον ὡς νεκροῦ τρίχες,
 τῆς πυρκαϊᾶς οὐ φέρουσαι τὴν ζέσιν.
 φεῦ, φεῦ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος, ἄξιος γόου, 25
 ἄνθρωπος εὐμάραντος, ἐκτετηγμένος,
 φορῶν κάτισχνον καὶ σκιῶδες σαρκίον,
 ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, δέρμα σαρκίου μόνον.
 κοσμουργέ Χριστέ καὶ Θεέ ζωοβρύτα,
 οἶα μὲν ἢ κένωσις ἐκ τῶν ἐντέρων, 30
 οἶα δ' ἀπὸ στόματος, ἐκτύφουσά με
 καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἀναμιμνήσκουσά με
 τροφῆς ἐκείνης τῆς ἀπηγορευμένης,
 ἣ παρασυρεῖς καὶ κλαπεῖς ἐγὼ τάλας
 τὴν πικροποιὸν κακίαν ἠλλαξάμην. 35
 ἂν ἐννοήσω τῆς χολῆς τὴν πικρίαν,
 θάνατον αὐτόχρημα τὸ πρᾶγμα κρίνω.
 παρεῖντο χεῖρες, ἔτρεμον δὲ τὰ σκέλη,
 ἃ βάσιν οὐκ ἔχοντα παγιωτέραν
 εἰς γῆν με κατήρασσον ὡς ἄπνουν νέκυν. 40
 ὅλας θαλάσσας ἐκροῶν ἡπειρόμην,
 ὅλους ποταμοὺς ἐκπίνειν ἐγλιχόμην·
 τὸ πῦρ γὰρ ἔνδον ἐγκαθήμενον λάβρον
 ὅλην ἀπεξήραινεν τὴν διαρτίαν.
 αἰ αἰ, πολυστένακτον ἀνθρώπων γένος, 45
 κακῶν ἄβυσσε, βυθὲ τῆς δυσποτμίας·
 αἰ αἰ, πολυστρόβητε, κυκητὰ βίε,
 ἄλλοπρόσαλλε, τρισκατάρατε, πλάνε,
 ἄνισε, παντόφυρτε, βάσιν οὐκ ἔχων·
 σκώληξ σὺ πικρός, καρδίας κατεσθίων, 50
 δυσχείμερος θάλασσα μυρίων κακῶν,
 ἀνήμερον πέλαγος μυρίων κακῶν.
 Ὁ γοῦν σεβαστός, ἡμιθανῇ με βλέπων,
 ἐσχετλίαζε, συμπαθῶς ἐδυσφόρει

⁷³ Unconsciousness or lethargy is one of the symptoms of this illness.

⁷⁴ For ζωοβρύτης, see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.

⁷⁵ τροφῆς, literally "food". It was common belief that people were punished for their sins by illness.

it carbonized me and, what's more, exhausted me,
 it baked me in the fire, and smothered me in a pan, 20
 darkened my head with dense and smoky puffs
 which at the same time closed the pupils of my brain.⁷³
 My hair fell out -just as it happens with a corpse-,
 not being proof against the strain of feverish heat.
 Alas, alas, unlucky me, a piteous man, 25
 soon withering, emaciated to the bone,
 with nothing more than very lean shadows of flesh,
 or better said, no flesh at all, only the skin.
 Oh, Christ, creator of the world, life-pouring⁷⁴ God,
 that terrible evacuation of my paunch, 30
 that vomiting out of my mouth, which scorched me,
 and which reminded me of fruit⁷⁵ from long ago
 which I enjoyed, although forbidden as it was,
 by which I was seduced and cheated, I, poor wretch,
 which thrust this bitter misery onto my neck! 35
 Whenever I perceive the bitterness of bile
 I feel this thing exactly is the same as death.
 Limp were my arms, shaky my legs, and they, my legs
 were powerless, not able anymore to let me walk,
 only to fling me down to earth, a breathless corpse! 40
 In eager haste I started gulping down whole seas,
 whole rivers were my goal to drink with gluttony,
 because the blazing fire, which in my entrails raged,
 dried out just every bone of all my skeleton.
 Ah, ah, you, human race, to be deeply deplored, 45
 abyss of evils, depth of great misfortune, too!
 Ah, ah, you, human life, so changeable⁷⁶ and weird,
 unsteady and deceptive, thrice-accursed as well,
 not very fair and all-confusing, without base,
 you are the cruel worm devouring all the hearts, 50
 you are the stormy sea of countless miseries,
 you are the ruthless ocean of countless pains!
 In short, his Highness seeing me as almost dead,
 he was alarmed, felt irritation and compassion, too,

⁷⁶ πολυστρόβητος < πολὺς + στρόβητος, again a neologism. In his poem *Aristandros and Kallithea*, Manasses repeatedly touches on this theme, e.g. frg. III, 52, 54, 55 (with an allusion to Solon's remark against Croesus in Herodotus, I, 32, 7).

καὶ φιλοτίμου τῆς προνοίας ἡξίου.
 οὕτω κακῶς πάσχοντι συγκατηλέει
 ὁ Δουκόβλαστος εὐκλεῆς Ἀλέξιος,
 ὁ τηνικαῦτα κυριαρχῶν Κυπρίων,
 ἀνὴρ μεγαλόδωρος, αὐτοπραότης,
 ἐκ βασιλικῶν αἱμάτων κατηγμένος.
 ἴν' οὖν τὰ πολλὰ συντεμῶν γοργῶς φράσω,
 ἀμφοῖν κελεύσει καὶ θελήσει καὶ κρίσει
 εἰς τὴν περιβόητον ἡνέχθην Κύπρον,
 ὡς ἄερος τύχοιμι καθαρωτέρου
 καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀποκρουσαίμην νόσον.
 οἷοις μὲν οὖν με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πόσοις
 ἥρδευσε χειρὶ δαυιλεῖ καὶ πλουσίᾳ
 Δουκῶν ὁ κλάδος, ἡ γαλήνιος φύσις,
 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην τῷ λόγῳ διαγράφειν.
 πάλιν δ' ἐπῆλθεν ἡ παλαμναία νόσος,
 ὡς ἐκ δρυμοῦ σῦς, ὡς λεαίνης σκυμνίον.
 ἔβρυξε τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἤνοιξε στόμα·
 καταπιεῖν ὥρμησεν ἀσχέτῳ θράσει,
 τὸν φλοῦν ἀπεξήρανε τὸν τοῦ σαρκίου,
 τὸν χοῦν ἀπημαύρωσε τῆς διαρτίας,
 τὸν ῥοῦν ἐπωχέτευσε τῶν ἐντοσθίων.
 ὃ σῶμα λυπρόν, ὃ γεώδης οὐσία.
 κἂν μὴ σύ, πάτερ τοῦ γένους φυτηκόμε,
 ὠμβρησας ἀνάψυξιν ἐμπνόου δρόσου
 πεσόντι καὶ ψυγέντι καὶ ρεύσαντί μοι,
 τάχ' ἂν τεφρωθεῖς εἰς τὸ μηδὲν πεφθάκειν.
 τέως ἀποδράς, δορκὰς ὥσπερ ἐκ βρόχων,
 ἐλευθερίων ἠψάμην πετασμάτων.
 καὶ νῦν παροικῶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην Κύπρον,
 τὴν λιπαρὰν γῆν, τὴν πολυφόρον χθόνα,
 ἄλλοις κύπειρον οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ Κύπρον.
 τί γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἀστρίων ἀμαυρότης

⁷⁷ Horna devotes an elaborate note to the question as to who this Alexios Doukas was. He was not the eldest son of Nikephoros Bryennios, but perhaps the Alexios who is mentioned in an enkolpion which came into the possession of Amalric, King of Jerusalem in 1171; the King donated it to the Grammont Monastery in 1174. This Alexios was a great-grandson of Irene, wife of Alexios Komnenos. His ἀκμή fell between 1150 and 1170 and he could be the successor of John Komnenos, grand nephew of the emperor of that name, who is mentioned as a Byzantine governor of Cyprus by Johannes Kinnamos, *Epitome* (see n. 3), iv, 17, CSHB, p. 178, 22.

and ordered an intensive and expensive care!
 While suffering this awful fate I was indulged
 with pity by the Doukas-shoot Alexios,⁷⁷
 the famous governor of Cyprus at that time,
 a very generous, friendly personality,
 and really descending from imperial blood.
 In order now to cut a verbose story short:
 by will, consent, and order of both mighty men
 I was transported to that famous Cyprus there,
 where I should find, as it was hoped, a more fresh air
 for getting rid of this disease which savaged me.
 All kinds of healthy things, these many benefits
 which has bestowed on me with rich and generous hand
 the scion of Doukas family, nature serene,
 impossible for me to mention these in words!
 Nevertheless, again the murderous illness did
 attack me like a boar from copse, or lioness.
 It gnashed its teeth, it opened threatening its mouth
 and was prepared to swallow me with brutal force.
 It dehydrated all the surface of my skin,
 it charred the earthen dust of all my body's shape.⁷⁸
 it drained away all moisture in my entrails left.
 Oh wretched substance, oh you, creature made of earth!
 And if you, Father-Planter of the human race,
 hadn't rained upon me the refreshment of cool wind,
 thus fallen ill, wasting away by feverish heat,
 I would, reduced to ashes, now have passed to nil.
 However, I escaped, just like a deer from snare
 and clung to wings which brought me into liberty.
 Therefore I live now here on Cyprus, well-renowned
 for its fertility and for its fruitful land,
 to some a land of citrus, Cyprus just for me!⁷⁹
 For, what is the dull flicker of the modest stars

⁷⁸ διαρτία, "form", a rare word, used by Cosmas the Melodist, *Hymns* 2, 40, PG 98, 459-524, "σύμμορφος πηλίνης εὐτελοῦς διαρτίας, Χριστέ, γεγονώς"; see Lampe, s.v. Some other instances are mentioned in Trapp, *LBG*.

⁷⁹ The pun κύπειρον — Κύπρον is inimitable in English. I therefore tried the assnant juxtaposition citrus — Cyprus. The reference to κύπειρος is an allusion to Homer, *Ilias*, φ, 351 and *Odyssey*, δ, 603. From these instances it is clear that galingale grew on fertile places and was used as horse-fodder. Manasses' pun probably means: Cyprus may be fertile as it is (for horses), as to me, it offers nothing.

πρὸς τὴν τὸ πᾶν βόσκουσαν ἡλίου φλόγα;
 ἢ τί πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν
 ἢ Κύπρος ἢ σύμπασα καὶ τὰ τῆς Κύπρου;
 90 ὦ μόχθος, ὦ μάθησις, ὦ σοφῶν βίβλοι,
 αἷς συνεσάπην ἀνοήτως ἐκ νέου·
 ὦ σώματος κάκωσις, ὦ νυκτῶν δρόμοι,
 ὅς ἀνάλωσα ταῖς βίβλοις ἐντυγχάνων,
 95 ἄϋπνος, οὐ βλέφαρα κάμπτων εἰς ὕπνον,
 ὥσπερ μονάζων στρουθὸς ἐν δωματίῳ,
 ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, ἐν σκότει νυκτικόραξ.
 εἰς γῆν παροικῶ τὴν σπανίζουσιν λόγων·
 ἀργὸς κάθημαι, συμπεδήσας τὸ στόμα,
 100 ἀεργός, ἀκίνητος ὡς φυλακίτης,
 ῥήτωρ ἄγλωσσος οὐκ ἔχων παρρησίαν,
 ῥήτωρ ἄφωνος οὐκ ἔχων γυμνασίαν.
 ὥσπερ δὲ παράδεισος, οὐκ ἔχων ὕδωρ,
 συγκαίεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς λειψυδρίας,
 105 συμφύγεται δὲ παρὰ τῆς ἀνομβρίας
 καὶ φυλλοριπτεῖ δενδρίτις εὐκοσμία,
 οὕτω καὶ γὰρ πέπονθα καὶ διεφθάρην
 καὶ κάλλος ἀπέβαλλον, οὐπὲρ ἠυπόρουν.
 ἀργὸς διάγω, βόσκομαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν
 110 ἢ τὴν κίνησιν καρτερῶ τῶν ὑδάτων,
 ὥς πρὶν ὁ παράλυτος ὑγείας χάριν.
 ὦ Ῥωμαῖς γῆ, κόσμε τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης,
 ἔρρευσεν τὰ βλέφαρα προσδοκῶντά σε.
 αἶ αἶ, στενάζω καὶ ποθῶ σε καὶ πνέω,
 115 κάλλιστε μητράδελφε, κόσμε συγγόνων·
 ἀπείργομαι δὲ σῆς ἐρασμοῦ θέας,
 ὦ κύκλε χρυσέ, τῶν μοναστῶν σεμνότης·
 ἐκρυσταλλώθην, ἐξέλιπον, ἐρρήν·
 ὁ τέττιγες πάσχουσιν οἱ δροσοφάγοι,
 120 θέρους μὲν ὑπάρχοντες ἔμμουσον μέλος,

⁸⁰ This sigh is reminiscent of the beginning of Poem III of Ptochoprodromos (ed. H. Eideneier, *Neograeca Medii Aevi*, v (Cologne, 1991); = Poem IV in the ed. D.C. Heseling and H. Pernot, *Verh. KNAW, afd. Letterkunde*, 11,1 (Amsterdam, 1910)), whose father forced him to start a career as an intellectual, with much paperwork and little bread on the shelf.

⁸¹ For 96 and 97 compare Psalm 101 (102):7-8, "ἐγενήθην ὡσεὶ νυκτικόραξ ἐν οἰκοπέδῳ / ἠγρόπνησα καὶ ἐγενήθην / ὡσεὶ στρουθίον μονάζον ἐπὶ δώματι".

compared with that all-feeding flame of her, the sun?
 So, in comparison with the City of Constantine,
 what 's Cyprus in its wholeness and particulars?
 90 Oh strain, oh education, oh these learned men's books
 with which from childhood I was stuffed, silly enough!⁸⁰
 Oh torment of my body, oh these lengthy nights
 which I spent sitting amidst my books and reading them,
 95 awake, not letting close my eyelashes for sleep,
 remaining like a sparrow in my room alone,
 or, better said, a long-eared owl at darkness' hour.⁸¹
 I live here in a land where literature is scarce,
 I sit here idly down, hand-cuffed at the mouth,
 just unemployed, immobile like a prisoner,⁸²
 100 tongueless orator without liberty of speech,
 voiceless orator without any exercise.
 No, like a garden without any water-stream,
 which suffers baking in the lack of moisture there,
 which suffers withering by lasting lack of rain,
 105 the splendid trees of which have dropped⁸³ their splendid leaves,
 thus was the situation of myself: I died
 and lost the beauty which I usually enjoyed;
 idling away my time I feed myself with hope
 or wait the movement of the waters going through
 110 just as in older times the lame did for his health.⁸⁴
 Oh, Roman land, true ornament of all the earth,
 my eyes and eyelashes are wet thinking of you.
 Yea, yea, I groan, longing for you with every breath,
 dear mother's brother, pearl of my whole family,⁸⁵
 115 because I am devoid of your so lovely look,
 you, golden ring, respected in the monastery!
 I froze, I fell into a swoon, wasted away.
 What happened to me 's what dew-consuming crickets fare
 who sing their high-melodious songs in summertime,
 120

⁸² This meaning of φυλακίτης is a new one in comparison with the meaning "police officer" (in Egypt; see LSJ). For the meaning "prisoner", see Lampe, s.v.

⁸³ φυλλοριπτῶ is probably a neologism which has replaced φυλλορροέω.

⁸⁴ Cf. John 5:2-7 on the pool Bethesda, around which a multitude of sick people was "waiting for the moving of the water": "whosoever then first... stepped in was made whole..."

⁸⁵ This uncle on his mother's side is further unknown. From vs. 117 one may conclude that he was an abbot of a monastery in (the neighbourhood of) Constantinople.

νεκρούμενοι δὲ τοῦ κρύους πεφθακότος.
 τὸ γὰρ πολυμέριμον ἀνθρώπων γένος,
 θαλφθέν μὲν ἄβροις ἡλίοις ἀλυπίας
 τὴν γλῶσσαν ὑποῖ Στέντορος τορωτέραν
 καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήθιον ἀπλοῖ μαγάδα 125
 καὶ φθόγγον εὐτόρνευτον, ἐμμελῇ πλέκει·
 ἂν δ' ἀποπαγῇ τῷ κρύει τῶν θλίψεων,
 μαραίνεται, φεῦ, τὸν κρυμὸν μὴ βαστάσαν.
 Ὁ μὲν μεγαλόδωρος, ὁ χρυσοῦς Δοῦκας,
 ὁ τῶν χαρίτων Νεῖλος, ὁ χρυσοβρύτης, 130
 κορεννύει με δαψιλῶν ψωμισμάτων
 καὶ τὴν Ἀερμῶν ὀμβροβλυτεῖ μοι δρόσον,
 οὐ προσδοκήσας ἐξ ἐμοῦ τι κερδᾶναι,
 (πῶς γὰρ σελήνης δίσκος ὁ πλήρης φάους
 δανείσεται φῶς ἀπὸ πυγολαμπίδος;) 135
 ἀλλ' ὥς κινηθεῖς ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας.
 ἂν δ' ἐννοήσω τὴν Βυζαντίδα χθόνα,
 χολὴ δοκεῖ μοι τῶν τραπεζῶν τὸ στέαρ,
 τὰ πάντα πικρά, κἂν τὸ νέκταρ εἰς πόσιν,
 κἂν ἀμβροσίαν πρὸς τροφήν φέροντά μοι. 140
 καὶ μουσικὸν γὰρ ἐγκαθειρχθὲν στρουθίον,
 κἂν λιπαρῶς τρέφοιτο, κἂν ὑπὲρ κόρον,
 ἐλευθερίων γλίχεται πετασμάτων
 καὶ δυσχεραῖνον τὸν μετ' ἀνθρώπων βίον,
 αἰεὶ διώκει κρυφίας διεξόδους. 145
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἡδὺ καὶ ζητητέον,
 ὥς φῶς ἐλευθέριον, ἄφροντις βίος.
 γένοιτο, Χριστέ, καὶ τυχεῖν χρηστοῦ τέλους,
 ναὶ ναί, κεραμεὺ φύσεως ἀνθρωπίνης,
 ναὶ ναί, φυτουργὲ πλάσεως βροτησίας, 150
 ὥς σῶστρά σοι θύσαιμεν ὕμνοποιῖας
 κρατῆρά τε σπείσαιμεν εὐχαριστίας.
 ὦ γῆ Βυζαντίς, ὦ πόλις τρισολβία,
 ὀφθαλμὲ τῆς γῆς, κόσμε τῆς οἰκουμένης,
 τηλαυγὲς ἄστρον, τοῦ κάτω κόσμου λύχνη, 155

⁸⁶ Though ψωμίσματα is not to be taken in its original meaning, "morsels". Manasses may have had in mind Plutarchus, *Vita Romuli*, cap. 2, where it is told how Romulus and Remus are kept alive by the milk of the she-wolf and the ψωμίσματα brought by birds.

⁸⁷ The verb ὀμβροβλυτέω is used in the Suda, see LSJ, s.v.

but die as soon as chilly wintertime arrives!
 For, in the same way the wretched human race is raised:
 as long as cherished by the sun of happiness,
 its voice, in louder tones and pitch than Stentor's was,
 expands the bridge of his rib cage to last degree, 125
 producing so a full and round, harmonious sound,
 but when it is grown stiff by chilling from distress,
 it wastes away, being, alas, no match for frost!
 Doukas, indeed, the generous man with golden heart,
 this Nile of benefactions, flowing floods of gold, 130
 abundantly he overwhelms me with rich foods⁸⁶
 and showers down upon me dew⁸⁷ from Hermon Mount,
 without expecting any gain coming from me
 (for how will the round moon disc full of splendid light
 owe any light produced by one mere firefly?)⁸⁸ 135
 but driven by his feelings of philanthropy!
 Nevertheless, my thinking of Byzantium
 makes all the richness of the meals feel like pure bile,
 taste all things bitter, even with nectar for drink,
 and even if they bring ambrosia for food. 140
 A singing-bird which sees itself caught in a cage,
 albeit plentifully fed, more than enough,
 longs just for freedom and for spreading out its wings;
 it hates a life together with that human folk
 and steadily is searching for secret escapes! 145
 For nothing is so sweet and so desirable
 as freedom's light and life without solicitudes.
 Good Christ, bestow that at the end all will be good,⁸⁹
 yea, yea, you Potter of the human earthenware,
 yea, you Arboriculturist of mortal stock, 150
 so that by songs I may express my rescue thanks
 and offer you a bowl brimful of gratitudes!
 Oh, country of Byzantium, fortunate Town,
 eye of the world and ornament of all the globe,
 wide-shining star and lantern of this earth beneath, 155

⁸⁸ πυγολαμπίς < πυγή, "buttocks", "tail" + λαμπ- (literally: "glow-worm") is mentioned in Aristoteles, *Historia Animalium*, 523b21 and 551b24. Common variants are πυριλαμπίς and πυρολαμπίς. I translated "firefly" for metrical reasons.

⁸⁹ "Good... good": my attempt to "honour" the play of words Χριστέ ... χρηστοῦ, with (in Byzantine Greek) homonymous first syllable.

ἐν σοὶ γενοίμην, κατατρυφήσαιμί σου·
 σὺ καὶ περιθάλποις με καὶ διεξάγοις
 καὶ μητρικῶν σῶν ἀγκαλῶν μὴ χωρίσαις.

Δόγος τρίτος.

Ἔμελλον ἄρα καὶ πάλιν κινεῖν χέρα
 καὶ στηλογραφεῖν τὰς ἐμὰς δυσπραγίας·
 παρῆλθε καὶ γὰρ οὐδέπω τὰ δεινὰ μοι,
 αἰεὶ δ' ἐπιρρέουσι καὶ τρύχουσί με.
 κἀγὼ μὲν ὄμην ἄχρι καὶ τοῦ τρυγίου
 5 πιεῖν ἀπάσας τῆς τύχης τὰς πικρίας
 καὶ συμφορῶν κύπελλα καὶ νόσων σκύφους·
 τὰ δ' ἦσαν αὖθις ὡς κρατὴρ χολῆς γέμων
 καὶ θλίψεων ῥοὺν ἀδάπανον βλυστάνων.
 10 ὄμην τὸ δένδρον τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων,
 κἂν ἐν θέρει τέθνηκε, χειμῶνι φθίνειν·
 τὸ δ' ἦν αἰετλάστητον, εὐκαρπον, βρύον
 εἰς πάντα καιρόν, οὐ γὰρ ἐν θέρει μόνον.
 Αἰ αἰ, τυφλὸν δείλαιον ἀνθρώπων γένος,
 ὡς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον τὰς κόρας τυφλὰς ἔχεις.
 15 ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς πέλαγος ἐμπεσὼν νόσων
 καὶ προσραγεῖς τὸ σῶμα παντοίαις βλάβαις
 εἰς νῆσον ἤχθην τὴν μεγίστην τὴν Κύπρον,
 ὡς ἐκτινάξω τῶν παθῶν τὸ φορτίον,
 20 προσέσχον αὖθις κινδύνοις παλιντρόποις
 καὶ τραχύτης κλύδωνος ὑπέπαισέ με,
 ὥσει τις ἄρθεις εἰς ἀπόκρημνον λόφον
 πάλιν ὀπισθόνωτος ἐξ ὕψους πέσοι.
 ὡς ἀπόλοιτο κακία τῆς ἡμέρας,
 25 ἐν ἣ προσῆλθον ἀπὸ τῆς Βυζαντίδος·
 μὴ συνταγείη τοῦ χρόνου ταῖς ἡμέραις,
 ἥνικα λιπὼν τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὀλβίαν,
 ἐπεπλανήθην εἰς βαρathρώδεις τόπους.
 ἀλλ' ὦ τί μάτην ἐγκαλῶ ταῖς ἡμέραις,
 30 αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ κατενεγκὼν τὸ ξίφος;

⁹⁰ The basic use of κατατρυφάω + gen. is given in Psalm 36 (37):4: "κατατρυφῶ-
 σον τοῦ κυρίου" ("delight thyself in the Lord"). See also Lampe, s.v.

⁹¹ One of the few dubious readings of the text. Horna indicates that MS V
 has ὑπέβαλλέ με, but in the margin ὑπέπεσέ με, written by him as ὑπέπαισε for

I wish I were now in your arms, enjoyed⁹⁰ in you,
 I wish you cherished me and gave me full support,
 that never more I will be off from your embrace!

Third Poem

It was my fate that once again I moved my hand
 to write my train of misfortunes on tablets down!
 For these my sufferings were far from ended now,
 no, they continued flooding and exhausting me!
 And then I thought that I had drunk full to the dregs
 5 the multitude of bitternesses of my fate,
 the cups brimful of miseries and illnesses,
 but there it was again: a bowl filled up with bile
 which overflows with never-ending streams of pain!
 I also thought the tree of all my sufferings,
 10 though flourishing in summer, would in winter die.
 It proved to be an evergreen, teeming with fruits
 and at all seasons, not just during summertime!
 Ah, ah, stone blind and miserable human race,
 how do you have your eyes towards the future closed!
 15 For, being tumbled in the sea of illnesses
 and being physically broken by all harms
 and after being brought to Cyprus, that great isle,
 for shaking off the burden of my sufferings,
 I was confronted with just other dangers now
 20 and roughness of the dash of waves had hit me down,⁹¹
 the same way as a man raised up onto a cliff
 who backward falls from his position into depth!
 Be cursed the badness of that miserable day
 that I departed from my land, Byzantium.
 25 Oh, wouldn't be numbered among daily time that day
 when I went off to leave that City fortunate
 and had to roam about the lands full of ravines!
 But why to blame the days unjustifiably
 where I myself let fall the sword upon myself?
 30

metrical reasons from ὑποπαίω, a verb without parallel. Perhaps ὑπέπεσέ με is not
 more than a gloss upon the unusual meaning of ὑπέβαλλέ με, the meaning of which
 may be compared with Polybius, 1, 82, 2, "ὑπέβαλλε τοῖς θηρίοις (τοὺς πολεμίους
 sc.)."

πάλιν ἀνοίξω καὶ πλατυνῶ τὸ στόμα
 καὶ τοὺς κατασχόντας με λαλήσω πόνους.
 ἐγείρεται μοι βαρυάλγητον πάθος
 νεφρῶν κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν μελῶν ὀπισθίων,
 35 καλῶς δέ, Χριστέ, καὶ μετ' ἐνδίκου νόμου·
 οὐ γὰρ περιέσφιγξα νεφροὺς εὐφρόνως,
 τὴν ὀσφὺν οὐκ ἔζωσα, σοὺς πατῶν νόμους.
 αἱ αἱ, πάθος δύσκλητον, ἄλγους ὀξύτης,
 εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐξικνουμένη.
 40 κίνησις οὐκ ἦν, δυσχερὴς ἦν ἡ στάσις,
 ἢ κατάκλισις βαρυσυμφορωτέρα.
 τὸν παράλυτον ἂν τις εἶκασε βλέπειν,
 ὀρῶν βεβλημένον με νεκρὸν ἐν κλίνῃ.
 ἐντεῦθεν ἤλγουν, ἠθύμουν, ἐδυσφόρουν,
 45 ὠρυόμην, ἡσχαλλον, ὠχλουν, ἠχθόμην.
 ἦλιε, μὴ βλέψαιεν αἱ σαῖ λαμπάδες
 ἄνθρωπον ὑποστάντα τοιοῦτον βάρος.
 κἂν γὰρ γίγας τις, κἂν λίθινος τυγχάνῃ,
 κἂν ἐξιῶται ταῖς κέδροις τοῦ Λιβάνου,
 50 φανήσεται, φεῦ, ἰσχνότης καλαμίνη,
 καμφοθήσεται, φεῦ, ὡς ἀμάξης ἀψίδες.
 ὃ πικροποιὸν καὶ χολὴν βλύσαν φυτὸν
 καὶ τοῦ κακίστου σατανᾶ συμβουλία
 καὶ τῶν γεναρχῶν δυστυχῆς ἀπληστία,
 55 δι' ὧν θαλάσσας μυρίων παθημάτων
 τὸ τηλεπαθὲς πέπωκεν ἀνθρώπων γένος.
 Εἶχον μὲν οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἡμίπνους νέκυσ·
 τοῦ <γὰρ> ποδός μοι μηδὲν κινουμένου,
 ὡς δένδρον ἡμίψυχον ἀπεψυχόμην·
 60 ἐχώλαναν γὰρ αἱ τρίβοι τῆς καρδίας·
 οὐκοῦν δικαίως ἡ κίνησις ἐσφάλῃ.
 ἄσιτος ἦμην, οὐ προσηγόμην ὕδωρ.
 ἀπεστενώθη τὸ πλάτος τῶν ἐντέρων·
 τὰ κέντρα καὶ γὰρ τῶν πικρῶν ἀλγηδόνων
 65 ἀπερράπιζον τὴν τροφὴν καὶ τὴν πόσιν.
 μὴ μοι γένοιτο, Χριστέ, μηδὲ καθ' ὕπνους

⁹² I have followed the "neutral" wording of Manasses himself. However, I guess that νεφροί is euphemistically used for ὄρχεις, for which use see LSJ, s.v. "νεφρός". Vs. 36 makes clear that Manasses caught some venereal disease.

⁹³ Cf. Ex. 12:11; Luc. 12:35.

I'll open now and once again widen my mouth
 to tell the miseries which held me in their grasp.
 A very painful suffering was roused in me
 which struck precisely at the reins right in my back,⁹²
 35 and rightly so, my Christ, according to your law.
 For I didn't wisely keep my reins under control
 nor did I keep girded my loins,⁹³ breaking your laws.
 Ow, ouch, intolerable pain, this knife-sharp grief,
 which penetrated right away into my brain!
 40 It was impossible to walk, hard to stand up,
 but lying down was even more unbearable.
 One would have thought, if seeing me, he saw the lame,
 thus I was lying like a corpse stretched in my bed,
 perished with pain, full of dejection and with wrath,
 45 I moaned, I grudged, I felt distressed and much oppressed!
 Oh sun, your eyes may never see again a man
 who has to suffer such atrocity of pain!
 For even if he should have been a giant of stone
 or just as strong as cedars of the Lebanon,
 50 it would turn out, alas, that he was weak like reed
 and he would curve, alas, like felloes of a wheel!⁹⁴
 Oh, tree⁹⁵ which richly bitterness and bile produced
 and that advice given from evil Satan's side
 and that disastrous gluttony of our first man,
 55 which caused that this so very wretched human race
 has drunk these oceans of innumerable pains.
 This was my situation then: as good as dead,
 one of my legs was fully motionless, indeed,
 just as a nearly lifeless⁹⁶ tree was I dying off:
 60 for they, the paces of my heart went badly lame,
 no wonder then that any move could only fail!
 I could not eat, nor could I take to me some drink,
 the width of my intestines grew just narrower,
 for all the tortures of these painful sufferings
 65 drove any lust for food or drink by force away.
 I pray to you, Christ, may I even in my sleep,

⁹⁴ "ὡς ἀμάξης ἀψίδες". MS V reads ἀψίδες with the correct classical accentuation. Horna changed the accent because the metre requires a short ι.

⁹⁵ This φυτόν is, of course, the tree of good and evil.

⁹⁶ For ἡμίψυχος, "semianimis", LSJ refers to glossaria.

ἰδεῖν ἐκείνου τοῦ πάθους τὰς πικρίας·
 ἂν γὰρ χρονίσῃ τῶν ὀνείρων ἢ πλάνη
 καὶ μὴ διαπτῇ καὶ λυθῇ παραντίκα,
 "Αἶδου με συγκλείσειε παμφάγον στόμα.
 χρόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ προσπελάσας τῇ νόσῳ
 καὶ γνοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲ μικρὸν ἰσχύειν
 Ἀσκληπιαδῶν τὴν σοφὴν τεχνουργίαν,
 μόνην δὲ τριβὴν καὶ κενὴν στομαλγίαν,
 ἄλλην ἀτραπὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐτράπην
 καὶ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν εἶπον «ἐρρίφθω κύβος»
 καὶ θερμολουτεῖν ἡρξάμην τὸ σαρκίον.
 ὃ λουτρόν, ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐρωστίας,
 σὺ πολλὰ τερπνὰ τοῖς κακουμένοις φέρον
 καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς ὥρθωσας εὐμενῶς τρίβους.
 θέλω κροτῆσαι τοῖς λόγοις καὶ σαλπίσσαι
 τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰς πολυρρύτους χύσεις,
 ἀλλ' εἰσέτι μοι μικρόφωνον τὸ στόμα,
 ἀποψυγὲν καύσωνι πειρατηρίων.
 ἥλιος ἔγνω καὶ σελήνη τὴν δύσιν,
 ὁ ποὺς δ' ὁ γοργός, ἡ ταχυπέτης πτέρυξ
 τῆς συμπιεζούσης με βαρυποτμίας
 οὐκ οἶδε κατάπαυσιν, οὐκ οἶδε στάσιν.
 ὦ πῶς ἂν ἡτύχησα πρὸς βραχὺν χρόνον
 τοῦ συμπαθοῦς τὴν γλῶσσαν Ἰερεμίου,
 ὥς τῶν κακῶν μου τὰς φορὰς ὠδυράμην.
 αἶ ἂν, συχνῶν μου συμφορῶν καὶ κινδύνων
 καὶ τῶν βελέμων τῆς τύχης τῆς βασκάνου.
 ἕως πότε στέρξω σε, τύχης πικρία;
 τί πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἐκπιέζεις καὶ τρύχεις;
 τὴν αἵματηρὰν ἐξέπιες πλημμύραν,
 τὸ τῶν κρεῶν μου κατεμασσήσω λέπος,
 ἦψω σχεδὸν μου τοῦ βάρους τῶν ἐγκάτων.
 τί γοῦν ἐπισφάττεις με; τί με συμπνίγεις;
 ἦλιε καὶ φῶς καὶ χορὸς τῶν ἀστέρων,
 ἰδὼν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο, πῶς οὐκ ἐκρύβης;

⁹⁷ See ἀνερρίφθω κύβος in Plutarchus, *Vita Caesaris*, c. 32, and Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, trans. C.B. Gulick, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1969), XIII, 559e. See also Zonaras, x, 7: "Καῖσαρ ... τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν ὑπειπὼν 'ἐρρίφθω κύβος' ὥρμησε, ..."

no, never see the bitter pains which I endured,
 for if would last this bad deceit as caused by dreams
 and not would stop and come to end immediately,
 better devours me Hades with his greedy mouth!
 Thus being burdened with this illness a long time
 and feeling that no longer would suffice the skill
 of the sophisticated fellows of Asclepius
 -not more than time-consuming work and hollow talk-
 I took, forced by necessity, another path:
 I uttered to myself the words: "the die be cast"⁹⁷
 and started bathing then my body in hot baths.
 Oh, swimming pool and starting point for my good health,
 you, that so many joyful things brings to the harmed
 and that has made the paths well straight also for me,
 I shall with words applaud and make the trumpet sound
 to tell about the flooding streams of your mere goods,
 though for the moment I am still a bit weak-voiced
 because yet chilled by that great heat of these my trials.
 The sun knows setting⁹⁸ and the same holds for the moon,
 the fast, however, running foot, the flying wing
 of my oppressive fate that really turned me down
 is not aware of any rest, knows no standstill.
 Oh, had I had at my disposal a short time
 the tongue of sympathetic prophet Jeremiah
 in order to bewail the blows of my bad luck
 and, ouch, the many miseries and dangers, too,
 and all these arrows of a fate that tortured me!
 Until what time I'll have to love you, bitter fate?
 Why do you squeeze me and distress to such extent?
 You fully drained the rich abundance of my blood,
 you ate digesting all the fat which built my flesh,
 and you almost attacked my body's inmost parts.
 Why do you slaughter and why do you strangle me?
 You, sun and moon and chorus of the many stars,
 why didn't you disappear on seeing such event?

⁹⁸ Psalm 103 (104):19, "ἐποίησεν σελήνην εἰς καιροῦς, ὃ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ".

ᾠ χρύσειον πόλισμα τῆς Βυζαντίδος,
ἤλιε τῆς γῆς, κάλλος οὐκ ἔχον κόρον,
ἕως πότε βλέψω σε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους;
ἴδοιμι, παντέραστε, σὰς στιλβηδόνας·
βλέψαιμι, καλλίφωτε, τὰ πρόσωπά σου.

105

Λόγος τέταρτος.

ᾠ χεῖρες, ἰσχύσατε καὶ κινεῖσθέ μοι·
πόδες, διανάστητε καὶ σκιρτᾶτέ μοι·
ὦ γλῶσσα, ῥῆξον ὕμνον εὐχαριστίας·
χάρηθι καὶ σύ, τριτάλαινα καρδιά.
ἰδοὺ γάρ, ἰδοὺ, καθαρώτατα βλέπω
τὴν παντέραστον, ὀλβίαν Βυζαντίδα.
ἀλλ' ὦ τί τοῦτο; μὴ πεπλάνημαι πάλιν;
μὴ Κύπρον οἰκῶ, τὴν κάκοσμον πικρίαν,
ἢ τὴν πνιγηρὰν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πόλιν
ἢ τὴν Ναζαρέτ, τὴν ἐμοὶ στυγητέαν;
φαντάζομαι ψευδῶς σε, χρυσέα πόλις;
ἐνύπνιόν μοι τοῦτο καὶ νυκτὸς γέλως,
ἢ σε τρανῶς κατεῖδον ὕπαρ, οὐκ ὄναρ;
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Πάφος ταῦτα καὶ γῆ Κιτίου,
οὐχ ἡ πενιχρὰ Τριμιθουσίων πόλις;
οὐκ ἄερος ζέουσα κακόπνους ῥύσις·
οὐχ ἀπαγωγή σωμάτων τεθνηκότων,
σωρηδὸν εἰς τύμβευσιν ἐκφορουμένων,
ὅποῖα πολλὰ καθορᾶν ὀσημέραι
πάρεστι τοῖς οἰκοῦσι τὴν Πτολεμαίου·
ἀλλ' ἡ πολυτίμητος, ἡ κλεινὴ πόλις.
ὄρῳ τὸν αἰθέριον, ἄπνουν ἱππότην·
τὸν λιμένα βλέπω δέ, τὸν μυριόναυ,
ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὸν δόμον,
τὸν ἀνθρακίαν τὸν λίθον, τὸν πυρράκην,
τὸν ἡλιώδη τὸν φεραυγῆ, τὸν μέγαν.

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⁹⁹ This passage makes clear that the composition of the poem was well-considered. The first poem starts with a dream with negative consequences; here reality looks like a dream but turns out to be a fortunate one.

¹⁰⁰ Though the second and third poem amply refer to Manasses' stay on Cyprus, only now do we hear about the region where he probably stayed, unless the names are to be considered geographical clichés pointing to Cyprus. As to Trimythousians, one probably has to change Horna's text Τριμιθουσίων into Τριμυθουσίων (Trimythus was a bish-

Oh golden City in the land of Byzantines,
sun of the earth, whose beauty is inexhaustible,
how long shall I just see you only in my dreams?
Oh, may I, loved one, really see your splendours back,
may I, your brilliancy, see back your shining face!

105

Fourth poem

Oh arms, regain your strength, start moving now for me,
and legs, straighten yourselves, start dancing now for me;
oh tongue, let now burst out a hymn of gratitude.
Be happy, you too, thrice-afflicted heart of mine,
for really there I see in luminosity
my all-belovèd, prosperous town Byzantium!
But oh, what 's this? Am I misled here once again?
Is it not Cyprus where I stay, that bitter stench,
or Ptolemaïs, that so suffocating town
or Nazareth, which cordially I abhor?
You, golden town, do I see you or a mirage?
Is it a vision in my sleep, smile of the night
or am I awake and see you clearly, not a dream?⁹⁹
But no! Not Paphos nor the land of Kition
nor that poor city of the Trimythousians!¹⁰⁰
And not the whirling draught of a big howling storm,
not the removal of a quantity of men deceased
who are by heaps for burial carried out of town,
such as can be observed in day-to-day routines
by the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs town,
but really this much-honoured city, famous town!
I see the horseman's lifeless statue in the air,¹⁰¹
but also the great harbour, with its countless ships,
and there that building which was built for God Himself
with stones as black as charcoal and with fiery red,
the sun-drenched, great illuminated holy church!¹⁰²

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opric), though Makhairas also mentions a place Τριμιθεῖα either in the Paphos region or = Grimithia, south-west of Lefkosia. See Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled "Chronicle"*, ed. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols (Oxford, 1932), II, §566, n. 2. I thank Prof. Metcalf for this suggestion.

¹⁰¹ Probably the statue of Constantine on the Constantine Market. An inscription mentions the fact that the Emperor Manuel had the capital repaired.

¹⁰² Doubtless a reference to the Hagia Sofia, though the description is somewhat impressionistic. Horna doubts whether the text is genuine.

τί, φεῦ, πέπονθα; ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην φρενῶν;
 ὦ πῶς τὸ συχνῶν τῶν ὀνείρων τῆς πλάνης
 τὸ πιστὸν ἐξέκοψε τῶν ὁρωμένων;
 ἐκεῖνος ὄντως <ἔστιν> ὁ γλυκὺς τόπος, 30
 ἢ τῶν μακάρων νῆσος, ἢ χρυσῇ πόλιν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν πᾶς ἐλήλათ φόβος
 καὶ τῶν ὀνείρων ἢ πλάνη τῶν νυκτέρων
 καὶ φανερώς ἔβλεψα τὴν Κωνσταντίνου,
 ἐπαναλάβω τὴν διήγησιν πάλιν. 35
 Ὑποστραφέντες ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας
 καταλιπόντες τοῦ Δράκοντος τὰς δίνας,
 ὃς δὴ ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἰσαυρίας,
 ναὶ μὴν ἀφέντες καὶ Συκὴν τὴν ἀγρίαν,
 τὴν παντομισῇ, τὴν κατάπτυστον πόλιν 40
 (τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γὰρ βούλομαι παρατρέχειν),
 ἐδρῆκαμεν τὴν Κύπρον ἐπτοημένην
 πολλοῖς ταραγμοῖς καὶ φοβήτροις ἀγρίοις.
 ὁ Τριπολίτης καὶ γὰρ ὀργῇ καχλάσας,
 ὥς ἐκπεσὼν δαίλαιος ἐξ ὧν ἠλπίκει,
 (ἢ γὰρ κριθεῖσα συζυγῆναι πρὸς γάμον
 τῷ βασιλεῖ μου τῷ στρατηγικωτάτῳ,
 ἐκ ταυτοαίμων ἐκφυεῖσα σπερμάτων
 τῷ δυσκαθέκτῳ τῷ θράσος Τριπολίτη,
 βασιλικῶν ἡμαρτε παστοπηγίων 50
 ἢ χρυσέα γὰρ Ἀντιοχέων πόλιν
 τὸν τῶν Χαρίτων ὑπεμόσχευε κλάδον,
 ἐπάξιον τελοῦντα τηλίκου γάμου,
 κόρην χαριτόφθαλμον, εὖοπτον κόρην,
 ῥηγεκγόνων βλαστῶσαν ἐκ ῥιζωμάτων),
 ὁ Τριπολίτης τοιγαροῦν θυμῷ ζέσας,
 ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ἰταμός, θράσος πνέων,
 (καὶ τί γὰρ ἢ Λατίνος αὐθάδης νέος;) 55
 στόλον κροτήσας καὶ στολάρχας ὀπλίσας,
 λεηλατεῖν ὥρμητο τὴν τῶν Κυπρίων,
 ἄνθρωπος ἀλόγιστος, ὅστις οὐκ ἔγνω,
 ὥς οὐ κατισχύσειε γῆς βασιλέως 60

¹⁰³ On this passage see my Introduction.

¹⁰⁴ "ἐκ ταυτοαίμων ἐκφυεῖσα σπερμάτων". Cf. Manasses, *Σύνοψις Χρονική*, 6123, "ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ ταυτοαῖμοι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν σπερμάτων".

But what, alas, happens to me, where erred my mind?
 Is it, that the deceit produced by many dreams
 has thoroughly destroyed the truth of what is seen?
 Indeed, this is indubitably the sweet place, 30
 the happy island of the blessed, the golden town.
 However, since my fear henceforth is fully banned
 and all the errors of nocturnal dreams as well
 and doubtless I saw back the town of Constantine,
 I shall continue now the story which I told. 35
 Returning on our journey over Isauria
 and having left the eddies of the Drakon stream
 - which is a river flowing in Isauria -
 we left also behind us Syce in the wilderness,
 a just all-hateful place, a cursed, damnable town, 40
 we found (I like to skip the details, most of them)
 that Cyprus was in trouble, being terrified
 because of heavy turmoil and alarming scenes.¹⁰³
 The Count of Tripolis apparently was mad,
 due to the fact that what he hoped for just was gone 45
 (the girl, considered worthy of a nuptial bond
 with him, my very diplomatic emperor,
 - for she was born out of the same seed and the blood¹⁰⁴
 of this audacious and unbridled Tripolite -
 had been passed over for the royal nuptial tie; 50
 the golden city, namely, of the Antiochenes
 had generated in her midst the grace-like child,
 who was the right match for a such great marriage bond,
 a maiden with beautiful eyes, attractive girl,
 descendant from the roots of royal families). 55
 This was the reason why the Tripolite seethed with rage,
 that reckless man, a man who glowed with courage, too,
 (what 's full of stubbornness more than a Latin man?)
 and he called up¹⁰⁵ the fleet and armed the admirals
 and started looting the island of the Cypriots 60
 clearly not knowing, thoughtless person as he was,
 that conquest of imperial land was hopeless work,

¹⁰⁵ κροτήσας = συγκροτήσας, cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883; reprint Hildesheim, 1980), 47, 21, "σύνοδον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐκρότησε"; 484, 26: "σύνοδον ... κροτηθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν et saepius".

στρουθὸς γὰρ ἀπτέρωτος, ἐψιλωμένος,
 εἰς ἀετιδοῦ καλιὰν πῶς ἐγγίσει;
 νεβρὸς δὲ μικρὸς πῶς θροήσει τὸν μέγαν 65
 ἐριβρύχην λέοντα, τὸν θηροκράτην;
 τέως ὁ ταλαίπωρος εἶχε μὲν θράσος,
 ἐπεσχέθη δὲ τῆς ῥύμης καὶ τοῦ θράσους.
 ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντες ἤμεν ἠπορημένοι,
 κακοῖς καταξανθέντες οἷοις καὶ πόσοις, 70
 οὐκ αἰσίου δὲ τοῦ τέλους τετευχότες,
 ἕως ὁ πανσέβαστος ἦλθεν εἰς Κύπρον,
 πολλοὺς διαδράς κινδύνους καὶ θανάτους,
 καὶ τηνικαῦτα τῶν λυπηρῶν ἡ ζάλη
 μετῆλθεν ἡμῖν εἰς γαλήνην, εἰς ἕαρ. 75
 κἄν τις ἀπιστῇ τὴν χαρὰν πολλὰ σθένειν,
 ἀκουέτω μου καὶ μαθὼν πιστευέτω.
 τὸ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ χρόνου με συντρίβον,
 τὸ φλεκτικὸν πῦρ τοῦ τεταρταίου δρόμου,
 ὥς τοῦ σεβαστοῦ τὴν παρουσίαν ἔγνω, 80
 ἐδραπέτευσεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ παραυτίκα.
 ὁ γοῦν σεβαστὸς πάντας εἰς ἓν ἐλκύσας,
 ὥσεί τις ὄρνις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρουθίοις
 τὰς εὐκέλαδους τῶν μελῶν συμφωνίας
 ἐπισυρίζει καὶ πρὸς ἓν συναγάγη, 85
 θήρατρα καὶ παγίδας ἐκπεφευγότα,
 ἐσάλπισε ξύνθημα τῆς ἐπανόδου
 καὶ πάντες ὁρμήθημεν αὐτῷ συντρέχειν.
 Οὐδὲν δὲ καινὸν οὐδὲ πόρρω τῆς τέχνης
 παρεισενεγκεῖν καὶ γελοῖον τοῖς λόγοις: 90
 τοῖς γὰρ λυπηροῖς καὶ γέμουσι τοῦ πάθους
 καὶ χαρίεντα συγκεραννύειν δέον
 καὶ ταῖς σκυθρωπαῖς ἱστοριογραφίαις
 γελωτοεργοὺς παιδιὰς προσαγαγεῖν.
 ἡ τῆς φρικώδους ἦν ἐορτῆς ἡμέρα 95
 — πεντηκοστὴν καλοῦμεν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἔθους —,
 καὶ πάντες ἤμεν ἐν ναοῖς ἠθροισμένοι,

¹⁰⁶ For ἀετιδής, "eaglet", see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v. Trapp, however, does not mention this instance.

¹⁰⁷ θηροκράτης is a neologism, see Trapp, *LBG*, s.v.

¹⁰⁸ This statement is confirmed by William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, xviii, 31, who suggests that Kontostephanos and his delegation were lucky enough to find a ship that

for how will once a wingless sparrow who's stripped bare
 approach the eyrie of an eaglet, young and strong?¹⁰⁶
 A little fawn, how will he ever make afraid 65
 a big, loud-roaring lion, king of all the beasts?¹⁰⁷
 The miserable man showed courage for some time,
 but he was forced to stop his violence and wrath.
 In the meantime we all were shocked and without plan
 struck as we were by various catastrophes 70
 for which we could not find a good, opportune end
 until had come to Cyprus his Highness himself,¹⁰⁸
 who had escaped from many dangers, many deaths,
 but from that moment on changed stormy miseries
 for us into serenity and day in spring. 75
 He, who mistrusts the power of what joy can do,
 listen to me and having heard me be convinced!
 The illness which had tortured me such a long time,
 the burning fire of quartan fever with its heat,
 as soon as it had seen his Highness's return 80
 as if by magic left me alone immediately!
 His Highness concentrated us onto one spot
 just as a hen which calls together all her chicks
 with the sonorous¹⁰⁹ timbres of her cackling sounds
 and thus assembles them in one and the same place 85
 after their being well escaped from net and trap;
 thus he let sound the horn as signal for return
 and we went all together gathering with him.
 'T is not absurd, nor contrary to rules of art
 inserting something laughable into my words: 90
 for it is necessary with the painful, grievous things
 to mix also some pleasant story to enjoy
 and writing gloomy, grumbling historiography
 asks for the addition of some jokes to cheer it up.
 It was the day of celebrating a big feast 95
 - we name this feast traditionally Pentecost -
 and all of us were gathered in our churches then

brought them to Cyprus: "inventa casu navicula in Cyprum se fecerunt deportare"; see also Horna, p. 317.

¹⁰⁹ εὐκέλαδος a.o. in Euripides, *Bacchae*, 160, "λωτὸς ὅταν εὐκέλαδος, ἱερὸς ἱερὰ παίγματα βρέμῃ".

τὴν ἐσπερινὴν ἐκτελοῦντες θυσίαν.
 ἔτυχον ἐστὼς τῶν προθύρων πλησίον.
 εἰσῆθεν ἄλλος, Κύπριος μὲν τῷ γένει, 100
 πάντας δὲ νικῶν ἀφροσύνη Κυπρίους.
 ἤγγισεν, ἤλθεν, ἐστάθη μου πλησίον·
 ἀπῶζεν οἴνου, συναπῶζε σκορόδου.
 κἀγὼ δὲ μιχθεὶς τὰς ῥίνας δυσσομία 105
 (βδελύττομαι γὰρ τήνδε τὴν κακοσμίαν,
 ὡς τῶν κακῶν μου τὴν δυσώδη κοπρίαν,
 ὡς αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸν τύπον)
 ἱλιγγίασα, λειποθυμεῖν ἤρξάμην·
 ὁ δὲ σκοτασμός, ἐμπεσὼν μου ταῖς κόραις,
 μικροῦ με πρὸς γῆν ἡδάφισεν ἡμίπνου. 110
 εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐντρανίσας ἡμέρως·
 «ἄνθρωπε, πόρρω στῆθι, μὴ προσεγγίσῃς.
 ὄξεις σκορόδου, τοιγαροῦν μακρὰν φύγε·
 οὐκ ἰσχύω γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κακὸν ἀντέχειν.»
 ἀλλ' οὐ πρόσεσχεν, οὐκ ἀπέστη τοῦ τόπου. 115
 πάλιν προσεῖπον ἀγριωτέρῳ λόγῳ·
 «ἄνθρωπε, πόρρω στῆθι, μὴ σύμπνιγέ με·
 ὡς βόρβορον γὰρ ἐκπνέει σου τὸ στόμα.»
 ἀλλ' ἄσπις ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀκοῶς βύσας· 120
 καὶ γὰρ τοσαύτην ἔσχε μου τὴν φροντίδα,
 ὅσῃν κάπρος κώνωπος ἢ μυίας λέων.
 οὐκοῦν συνιδῶν, ὡς περιττὸν οἱ λόγοι
 καὶ χρὴ τὸν ἄνδρα σωφρονίσαι παλάμαις,
 τὴν χεῖρα τείνας ἀνδρικῶς, εὐκαρδίως 125
 παῖω τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ κόρρης καὶ γνάθων
 πληγὴν θυμοῦ γέμουσαν ἀλκιμωτάτου·
 καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἦρτο βόμβον ὁ ψόφος,
 ὡς ἐντρανίσαι τῇ βοῇ τῇ τοῦ μέλους.
 οὕτω μόλις πέφευγεν ὁ σκατοφάγος.
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο, κἂν μέμφοιτό τις. 130
 ὁ δ' εὐγενὴς τὰ πάντα καὶ καλὸς Δοῦκας
 πάντας μεθύσας δωρεαῖς δαψιλέσι

¹¹⁰ Horna interprets τῶν κακῶν as the genitiv of τὰ κακά, "die Exkremente", as in Modern Greek. I disagree for two reasons: 1. If this was Manasses' intention the reading would have been τῶν κακῶν (for ἡ κάκκη, κακκάω, etc. see Aristophanes, *Pax*, 112, resp. *Nubes*, 1384, 1390). 2. It would be tautologic in respect to κοπρίαν, and in general contrary to his style.

¹¹¹ Psalm 57:5, "ὡσεὶ ἀσπίδος κωφῆς καὶ βουούσης τὰ ὄτα αὐτῆς".

attending there the service in the evening.
 It happened that I stood quite near the portico,
 when someone entered, obviously a Cypriot 100
 surpassing all the Cypriots in stupidity!
 He entered, came and stood just by my side,
 he stank of wine and stank of garlic yet much more,
 and I - my nose filled up by this mixture of stench -
 (I fiercely hate this kind of evil-smelliness 105
 which did remind me of my faeces, being ill,¹¹⁰
 or of the type of sulphurized Satan himself)
 grew dizzy and I threatened honestly to faint.
 The darkness which then took possession of my eyes
 did nearly throw me almost half-dead on the ground. 110
 I said to him casting a friendly look his way:
 "Man, please, go just a little further, don't approach.
 You smell of garlic, and therefore move far away,
 for I cann't stand or such a mischief tolerate!"
 He did, however, not react, nor leave his spot. 115
 A second time I said to him, but louder now:
 "Man, please, go further just a bit, don't stifle me.
 Your mouth is breathing the same breath as breathes hell!"
 But he was the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear.¹¹¹
 He paid attention just as much to me as does 120
 a wild boar to a gnat or lion to a fly!
 Regarding any further word superfluous
 and sure the man to reason should be brought by force
 I clenched my fist courageously, and gave the churl
 stout-heartedly a heavy box just on the ear, 125
 a blow in which was concentrated all my wrath!
 The noise rose up to such a high sonority
 that he took note¹¹² of me on hearing crack his limb.
 This moment finally the dung-eater pissed off!
 This was what happened, though one may me blame for that. 130
 But Doukas, generous and nice in all respects,
 "made all of us drunk" with a plenitude of gifts¹¹³

¹¹² ὡς ἐντρανίσαι. For ἐντρανίζω see Trapp, *LBG*, "klar sehen", "hinsehen", "betrachten". He does not mention this place, where the meaning is rather look up, look at, take note of.

¹¹³ I literally translated Manasses' metaphor "πάντας μεθύσας δωρεαῖς δαψιλέσι". The short (first) ι of δαψιλέσι is metrically lengthened.

χαίροντας ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας.

Ἦ πατὴρ υἱὲ καὶ σφραγὶς καὶ βραχίων,
παμβασιλεῦ, ἥλιε δικαιοσύνης,

ἔσωσας ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς Παλαιστίνης,

ὡς Ἰσραὴλ πρὶν ἐκ χειρῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ἐν θεοῖς, ὡς σύ, Λόγε·

σύ ζῶν Θεὸς κράτιστος, ὑψιστος, μόνος,

ὁ παντοποιὸς οὐρανοκράτωρ ἄναξ,

ἡλευθέρωσας ἐκ Λατινικοῦ θράσους,

ὡς πρὶν Δανιήλ, τὸν προφήτην τὸν μέγαν,

ἐκ τοῦ φάρυγγος τῶν λεόντων ἐρρύσω.

(τί γὰρ Λατίνων ἱταμώτερον γένος;)

ὁ ναυστολήσας εἰς Βαβυλῶνος χθόνα

πορθμεὺς ὁ καινὸς Ἀββακοὺμ δι' ἄερος,

ὡς τὸν Δανιήλ τὸν προφήτην ψωμίσαι,

ὁμαλίσας μοι τὰς τρίβους παρ' ἐλπίδα,

ἐναέριον ἵππότην ἀπειργάσω.

ἐξήγαγές με τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ παμβόρου

Πτολεμαῖδος μυριοφονευτρίας·

ἐκ Τριπολιτῶν τῆς πολίχνης ἐρρύσω

καὶ Κυπρίων γῆς τοῦ κακίστου φρουρίου.

ναὶ γὰρ βαρὺ φρούριον ἡ νῆσος Κύπρος,

τεῖχος σιδηροῦν, γαλεάγρα πετρίνη,

Ἄιδης ἄφυκτος, οὐκ ἔχων διεξόδους.

ὁ δυστυχήσας συσχεθῆναι τῇ Κύπρῳ

ἐκεῖθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐκπεράσοι ῥαδίως·

ἄνπερ γὰρ ἐν γῇ τὰς τρίβους ποιοῖτό τις,

εἰς χεῖρας ἐγγίσειε τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων,

ἂν μὴ Θεὸς ῥύοιτο καὶ διεξάγοι·

ποῦ γὰρ πετασθῇ; ποῦ κρυβεῖς διαδράσῃ;

ἂν τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλάτος διαπλέοι,

βαβαί, πόσων ἔστηκε κινδύνων μέσον;

ἄνωθεν ἦχος πνευμάτων βαρυπνόνων,

κάτω βρυχηθὺς κυμάτων ἄλλοθρόων.

ῥοχθεῖ τὸ κύμα, πνεῦμα παφλάζει μέγα.

τῶν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ληστρικῶν δὲ τοὺς φόβους

¹¹⁴ I read βραχίων instead of ms. βραχίον. For βραχίων see LSJ.

¹¹⁵ Psalm 85:8, "οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε". Cf. also vs. 10.

¹¹⁶ This version of Daniel in the lion's den and his being fed by the prophet Habakuk is told in the Supplement to Daniel, "Bel et Draco" (14:) 31-39.

and bade us a farewell and cruising speed to home.

Son of the Father, seal and strength of Your strong arm,¹¹⁴

king of the universe and sun of righteousness,

You granted us deliverance from Palestine

as earlier from the hands of Egypt Israel!

No one is there among the gods like You, oh Word.¹¹⁵

The living, strongest, highest God are You alone,

Creator of all things, Master of heavens, Lord,

You liberated us from Latin recklessness

as You saved the illustrious prophet Daniel

in older days out of the lion's den and mouth

(for what shows more brutality than Latin man?).

You, who conveyed straight to the land of Babylon,

You wondrous ferryman, this Habakuk by air

in order that he bring some bread to Daniel,¹¹⁶

You also straightened unexpectedly my paths¹¹⁷

and made a horseman who is riding through the air.

You carried me away from the all-devouring fire

of Ptolemaïs with its high mortality.

You freed me from the city of the Tripolites

and from the awful fortress of Cypriot land.

Yes, certainly, that Cyprus is a heavy fort,

a wall of iron and a mouse-trap made of stone,

a Hades without any exit to escape.

He, whom misfortune hits, and sits on Cyprus trapped,

he will not find an easy way to fly from there.

If one would choose to make his travelling by land

he runs the risk of being caught by barbarous hands

unless he will be saved by God who leads him through.

For where to fly or where to hide for coming through?

But if he likes to sail the broad back of the sea,

alas, amidst how many dangers is his stead?

The roaring of the heavy tempests from above,

the lapping of disastrous waves clashing beneath,

the sea is blustering, the storm roars frantically,

but on the terrors caused by pirates out at sea

¹¹⁷ Referring to Jes. 40:3, Matth. 3:3 etc., "εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους (τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν)". In the verse that follows, Kontostephanos' role is compared with Habakuk's.

ποία λαλήσει γλῶσσα καὶ ποῖον στόμα;
 ὥς κρεῖσσον εἰς πῦρ ἐμπεισεῖν † ἡθαιρίων 170
 ἢ πρὸς κακούργους πειρατὰς θαλασσίους.
 οὐαὶ πολυστένακτος ἄνθρωπος τάλας,
 ὁ συσχεθείς, φεῦ, τοῖς ἐκείνων δικτύοις.
 ἄνθρωπον οὐ τιμῶσι, κἄν μάννα βρέχη,
 κἄν πῦρ κατάγη, κἄν δροσίζη καμίνους, 175
 κἄν συγκαταθλᾷ τῶν λεόντων τὰς μύλας.
 ζητοῦσιν ἄδρους ἀποδέσμους χρυσίων.
 κἄν μὴ διδῷ τις, (ποῦ γὰρ εὕρήσει τόσους;) -
 τῶν ὄρχεων κρεμῶσι, παίουσι ξύλοις,
 δεσμοῦσιν ἱστοῖς καὶ χαλῶσιν εἰς ὕδωρ, 180
 ἕως ἀπορρήξειε τὴν ψυχὴν βία.
 οἶμαι τὸν ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς τούτων βρόχοις
 ἄλλοις ἰταμοῖς οὐ δοθήσεσθαι τότε
 ἐν τῇ φρικῶδει καὶ τελευταίᾳ κρίσει,
 κἄν τοὺς τελώνας ἐν κακοῖς ὑπεκδράμη· 185
 ἀρκεῖν γὰρ αὐτῷ πειρατῶν τὰς βασάνους.
 Τὰς γοῦν τοσαύτας ἐκφυγὼν τρικυμίας
 Θεοῦ κελεύσει καὶ προνοία καὶ κρίσει,
 ἂν κατὰ νοῦν λάβοιμι βαδίσαι πάλιν 190
 εἰς τοὺς ἀνίκμους τῆς Παλαιστίνης τόπους,
 εἰ μὴ τις ἐλκύσει με πρὸς τούτους βία,
 εἰς χεῖρας ἐμπέσοιμι τῶν ἄλλοθρόων.
 Χριστῷ δὲ δόξα τῷ διεξάγοντί με
 καὶ τηλικούτων κινδύνων σεσωκότι.

¹¹⁸ I have made use of the ingenious (but doubtful) conjecture of Horna, ἡφαιστίων (better ἡφαιστείων). But perhaps one should read ἡ θηρίον, understanding "better to fall into a fire or (to meet with) a wild beast than...". Cf. Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, frg. 1, 7, "Ἄλλ' ἦν οὐδέν, ὥς ἔοικε, χεῖρον ἀνδρὸς βαρβάρου, / οὐ πῦρ, οὐχ ὕδωρ, οὐδὲ θήρ, οὐδὲ θαλάττης χάσμα". The double ἦ in different meanings could be a difficulty but also a rhetorical trick, and can have caused the corruption.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Psalm 77:24, "καὶ ἔβρεξεν αὐτοῖς μάννα φαγεῖν". The other examples refer

whose tongue and mouth is able to describe these things?
 Preferable the plunge into volcano fire¹¹⁸ 170
 to capture by the wicked pirates of the sea.
 For woe betide the miserable and poor man
 who saw himself, alas, being a captive in their nets!
 They don't even respect a man who manna rains,¹¹⁹
 who can extinguish fire and cool a furnace down, 175
 who knows to break to pieces lion's molars all.
 They only do demand valises full of gold
 and if one doesn't provide (for where to find that much),
 they will then hang him by the balls, hit him with sticks,
 tie him securely to the mast and keelhaul him, 180
 until he will have lost his life, broken by force!
 I think, the one who will be captured in their snares
 he will be handed to no lesser hangmen than
 the ones of that most fearful Judgement-Day,
 even escaped as sinner from the evil ghosts:¹²⁰ 185
 the torments caused by pirates are more than enough!
 Thus from these tides of miseries escaped
 at the command and providence and will of God:
 should I get in my head again the intention of
 a travel to the dry regions of Palestine 190
 - unless someone will draw me there with all his force-
 then may I fall into the hands of foreigners!
 But, well, glory to Christ who brought me liberty
 and saved me from the dangers which thus threatened me.

to the story of Daniel. For συγκαταθλᾷ cf. Athenaeus, viii, 348 f. (quoting Macho), "συγκατέθλα τὸ ποτήριον".

¹²⁰ Τοὺς τελώνας: allusion to the "publicans", who test the souls of the dead during their route to heaven. Cf. *Vita Johannis Eleemonis*, cap. 44, in Leontios de Néapolis, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.J. Festugière and L. Rydén (Paris, 1974), p. 396, l. 100-1, "τί σύ, ταπεινὲ Ἰωάννη, ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅταν ἀπαντῶσιν εἰς πρόσωπόν σου οἱ ὅμοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἄσπλαγχοι τελῶναι καὶ φορολόγοι".

CONCLUSION

Manasses' poem is one of the few Byzantine documents which point directly to contacts between Byzantines and westerners in the Crusader States. On the one hand, we have to do with a document that is too personal to be informative about the real political relations between Constantinople and the western Middle East; on the other hand, the personal reflections of a person who did not bear political responsibility in this expedition gives a clear idea about the feelings of a Constantinopolitan intellectual with regard to regions outside the capital. In this respect his observations during the journey about the character of the places which were visited are very interesting. As a Christian, he is satisfied to have visited the Holy Places (and the manner in which he gives his report suggests that he indeed visited these places), but he reveals himself as a critical observer. At the same time it is clear that he suffered from homesickness, which became worse because of the very real diseases which afflicted him. One may assume that his negative view of Cyprus was influenced by his precarious health. Striking, however, is his outspokenness about the causes of his second illness. His attitude towards the westerners is, in a way, ambiguous. On the one hand, he is curious about and impressed by the girl who might be the prospective empress, on the other, he fiercely demonstrates the usual Byzantine arrogance towards foreigners in general and westerners in particular. As has already been remarked above, the fact that his report has been presented in the iambic trimeter suggests that Manasses wished to see his work as a classical messenger's report. He followed, of course, the Byzantine metrical rules, but proved, within these shackles, to be a very inventive linguist who succeeded in telling his story in an attractive and effective way.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt"

W.J. Aerts, "Das literarische Porträt in der byzantinischen Literatur", in *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel VIII*, ed. H. Hofmann and M. Zimmerman (Groningen, 1997), pp. 151-95.

Horna

K. Horna, "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 13 (1904).

Lampe

G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1991¹⁰).

LBG

E. Trapp, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* (Vienna, 1994 ff.).

LSJ

H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1940⁹).

Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*

Manasses, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, in *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*, ed. F. Conca (Torino, 1994).

Manasses, *Σύνοψις ἱστορική*

Manasses, *Σύνοψις ἱστορική*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1837).